CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

B 433 241 For four centuries the agricultural development of Brazil has been
characterized by a series of speculative phases, each focused on a single
BB 249 175 product, each centered upon a single region of Brazil. The first commercial
product was sugar, the first region was the Recôncavo of Bahia.
The agricultural society founded on the shore of the Baía de Todos os
Santos in the mid-sixteenth century has persisted with an almost unbroken
BB 121 continuity for over four hundred years. It is with the geography of this
agricultural society that the present study is concerned.

B BB 433 After sugar had ceased to bring a quick profit, the Brazilian
center of effort shifted to other areas where economies of cotton, oranges
rice, cacao, and many lesser products opened the land and drew the ambitious
and the desperate from the older settlements. Intermeshed with
these phases of agricultural development were booms in the exploitative
industries--in the mining of gold and diamonds and in the gathering of
rubber. So characteristic have been these speculative convulsions,
each followed by a shift to a new region, that they might almost seem
to be the whole of Brazilian history and Brazilian reality--the nation
might have been practicing a system of shifting cultivation on an
immense scale with not only fields but whole regions abandoned as the
yield declined. Yet this is not the case, for in each of these regions
BB 178 249 161 men remain and crops persist. The Recôncavo, long past its triumph,
has a present day population of one million people, many of whom are
still cultivating the original speculative crop, sugar cane. The
B BB 241 178 Recôncavo is not unique in this respect, for coastal Pernambuco, eastern

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 3]

CHAPTER III

EVOLUTION OF THE RECÔNCAVO

175 **Introduction.** The first permanent colony on the Baía de Todos
os Santos was established by the Portuguese in 1549.[1] This colony, at
the city of Salvador, was the nucleus of settlement in the Recôncavo.
The Recôncavo was thus one of the early European colonies in the New
World.[2] The first Portuguese colonists came to seek their fortunes in
175 178 the exploitation of the land. The ethos of the Recôncavo economy in
181 the four centuries since its founding has remained fairly constant: the
433 241 realization of the greatest agricultural profits with the least capital
investment, the minimum conservation of land and labor, and the most
grudging adjustments to changes in technology, markets, and the social
433 and political order. Most of the million descendants of Portuguese
241 178 colonists and Negro slaves who live in the Recôncavo today are imbued
[181] with the orthodox values of the exploitative agricultural society
established here in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Shifts in
markets and in the relative importance of commercial products have
not been accompanied by equivalent changes in the speculative and
exploitative orientation of the society. In the initial period a market
for Recôncavo agricultural products was assured because it had a
virtual monopoly. The development of alternative and competitive
sources for these products broke this monopoly and caused a continuous
increase in the speculative character of agriculture in the Recôncavo.
This area did not respond to the increased risk by diversifying its
agricultural base but persisted in the same crops and the same methods
of cultivation. Such change as did take place was in the form of
reluctant, tardy, and minimal adjustments so that in many ways the

433 Recôncavo remains today a backward and traditional agricultural
241
178 society.

However, not all elements in Recôncavo life are static. In the field one was incessantly conscious both of the gradual course of change in this region and of the latent instability of its economic organization. Particularly in the last 75 years the agricultural economy of the Recôncavo has begun to shift--it is apparently in the throes of a drastic economic reorganization. It remains to be seen whether the traditional values will survive this economic revolution.
[128] The brief historical discussion to follow is not intended as a substitute for a full-scale historical reconstruction. Its purpose is to indicate the major patterns in the evolution of the Recôncavo.

175 The Evolution of Colonial Agricultural Institutions. By the end of the initial half century of settlement (1600) those ethnic groups, crops, animals, and agricultural institutions which were to
[567] become characteristic of the Recôncavo were already in evidence. Negro
[249] slaves were brought in on the heels of the first Portuguese settlers,[3]
[231] and sugar cane and cattle were also introduced at this time.[4] Tobacco
[244] and manioc, produced by the Indians indigenous to the northeast of
[249]
[177] Brazil, were rapidly integrated into the colonial agriculture of the
[249] Recôncavo.[5] The combined sugar mill and plantation (engenho), which
[471] was the basic economic institution of the Recôncavo until the end of
the nineteenth century, already existed in rudimentary form before 1600.[6]

175 From the beginning the new colony in the Recôncavo had three
249
[244] important crops--sugar cane, tobacco, and manioc. It was the cultivation of sugar which the Portuguese crown and the initial settlers had

162 compose most of the population of the Recôncavo today. In 1940 the
563 population of the Centro-Litoral of Bahia--the census area most closely
corresponding to the Recôncavo--had the following composition: white,
22 per cent; black, 29 per cent; and others, predominately mulatto,
49 per cent.[12]

The purchase of large quantities of slaves required the produc-
175
439 tion of a commodity which could be used as exchange in Africa. The
567 indigenous tobacco proved eminently suitable for this purpose. Although
436
276 rum apparently was used also in this trade, tobacco became the essential
[273] source of exchange for the slave traffic.[13] Bahia was the main area of
[249] tobacco production, and probably most of this production was localized
in the Recôncavo.[14]

175 The initial period of settlement saw also the incorporation of
244 manioc[15] into the agricultural economy as a staple. Like tobacco, it
433
was an indigenous crop. Thus one indigenous crop was adopted to
[567] purchase slaves in Africa and another to feed them in Brazil. By
1587 manioc apparently was being cultivated on a moderate scale in
Bahia.[16] A recurring theme in the history of the Recôncavo is the
shortage of this essential foodstuff.

In addition to the principal crops--sugar, tobacco, and
241
262 manioc--a number of lesser agricultural products were important in the
175 early history of the Recôncavo. Corn, beans, and bananas were grown
433
on a small scale and used to supplement the manioc diet. Other diversi-
231 fications of the diet were provided by meat and fish. Cattle were
maintained to draw the ox carts and to power many of the cane mills.
For lighter tasks asses and mules were used.

178 Out of this complex of Portuguese settlers and Negro slaves, of
249 old world and new world crops, there developed certain characteristic
433
agricultural enterprises. The engenho--old world in the origin of its

178 249 433 crop, technology, and market--was the most important of these enterprises. The sugar industry flourished in its new world setting and developed from the beginning an institutional character different from that of the old world, particularly in terms of land holding, labor, and the organization of production.

> 175 423 249 471 The regime of possession of the land was that of completely alodial properties. Among the powers of the donatários of the capitania was, as we have seen, that of disposing of the land, which they distributed among the colonists. The grants were as a rule very large, the lots measuring many leagues. This is understandable: the lands were abundant, and the ambitions of these pioneers, recruited at such a cost, were evidently not contented with small properties; it was not the position of modest peasants to which they aspired in the new world but as great senhores [gentlemen] and latifundiários [landowners]. In addition to this and more important, there was a material factor which determined the type of property established. The culture of cane is practical, economically, only on a large scale. Merely conveniently to clear and prepare the lands (a costly task in this tropical and virgin setting so hostile to man) made necessary the united energy of many workers: it was not an enterprise for small and isolated proprietors. This done, the planting, the harvesting, and the transportation of the cane to the engenhos where it was made into sugar was only profitable when done in large volume. In these conditions the small producer could not exist.
>
> It was above all these circumstances which determined the type of agricultural enterprise adopted in Brazil: the large property.[17]

175 241 471 433 The latifundia established by these colonists ideally were self-sustaining units producing food and sometimes clothing for the entire engenho community--free and slave. In fact, however, they often seem to have neglected food production for the cultivation of the universal commercial product--sugar cane. From the beginning of colonization a succession of regulations and decrees were issued to compel the cultivation of manioc. Recurrent food shortages suggest that these measures were not effective in the face of the "monocultural 000 mentality" of the senhores de engenho (sugar plantation owners). In

241 In
433 contemporary Bahia chronic shortages of staple foods, particularly
178 manioc, are characteristic of the zones of commercial agriculture.

175 The equipment and technology of the *engenhos* was primitive.
249 The cane was transported on the backs of mules or on ox carts to the
[492] mill where it was crushed in a crude press sometimes turned by water power but usually by animal- or even man-power. The cane juice was evaporated in large iron caldrons which were heated by fire made from wood. This type of processing was in general use in the Recôncavo for several centuries and still persists in some areas of the extra-Recôncavo
[464] backlands. The *engenhos* were operated almost exclusively with slave
[567] labor. Most of the slaves of Bahia are thought to have come from the
[177] Guinea Coast of Africa. These "*Mina*" Negroes[18] had a relatively sophisticated cultural inheritance from Africa and undoubtedly made substantial contributions to the cultural development of Bahia.[19]

175 The Negroes were introduced when Indian slaves failed to pro-
249 vide the necessary labor supply, but they were rarely available in
464
567 sufficient numbers and at a low enough cost to prevent chronic labor shortages. *Falta de braços* (literally, lack of arms) has been a perennial concern in the Recôncavo no less than elsewhere in Brasil.
[162] The importation of hundreds of thousands of Negroes into Brasil--of which certainly a considerable number were settled in the Recôncavo--did not solve the problem.[20] In the early period most *engenhos* had from about 80 to 100 slaves, but by the eighteenth century some had as many as 1,000.[21]

175 From the beginning of settlement there was extensive miscegna-
563 tion. The Portuguese settlers were predominately male, and they bred
567 on a large scale with both Indian and Negro slave women. Some of the mestizo and mulatto children--chiefly the latter in the Recôncavo--retained the slave status of their mothers. Others were freed and sometimes occupied favored positions in their fathers' households.

175 565 The landed, slave-owning aristocrat was the master of Recôncavo society. The extended aristocratic family was the basic social, economic, and political unit of colonial society. The upper class of the Recôncavo, composed of inter-related family units, continued without substantial alteration until the twentieth century.

175 241 433 565 563 Despite the predominance of sugar cane and the engenho in the colonial Recôncavo--and in the literature on the region--other products and other institutions were important. It is clear that tobacco and manioc were the chief secondary agricultural products, but the development of the associated institutions is not documented. Presumably a class of small semi-subsistence cultivators occupied the lands unsuitable for sugar cane. This class probably was composed of whites lacking the capital for plantation agriculture and freed mulattoes and slaves--manumission was very common in the Recôncavo. The chief commercial product of these small farmers was rolo or corda tobacco (similar to a "twist" of tobacco),[22] and probably to a lesser extent farinha de mandioca (manioc flour). In addition, corn, beans, rice, and bananas were produced.

175 43 The colonial economy of the Recôncavo was not self-sufficient, in spite of the production of food crops and meat animals on small farms and on plantations. Near the beginning of colonization the livestock ranching industry, originating in coastal areas like the Recôncavo, migrated into the interior of the Northeast. Thereafter [231] a strong current of trade in animals, especially cattle, flowed into the Recôncavo from the São Francisco valley, from Ceará, and probably from the sertão of Bahia between the coast and the mountains. These animals were exchanged at the cattle fairs--notably at Feira de Santana--for the products of the coast and for imports from abroad.

175 231 After they had recuperated from the long drives, the cattle were used for both labor and food.

175 433 439 171 The colonial economy developed in the Recôncavo--in common with Pernambuco, Campinas (Rio de Janeiro), and lesser centers like Sergipe and Alagoas--was distinct from the economy of the south of Brazil. São Paulo, for example, was self-sufficient, buying little from abroad and having little to sell. Bahia and Pernambuco were almost completely dependent upon exchange with European markets, with Portugal acting as the middleman.

175 249 439 Economic Development from 1600 to 1850. By the middle of the seventeenth century most of the institutions discussed above existed in at least rudimentary form. They were nurtured by an expanding Brazilian commercial economy which enjoyed, for the moment, a virtual monopoly in sugar. Bahia was the leading province in Brazil in the export of both sugar and tobacco.[23] The production of these crops was centered almost entirely in the Recôncavo area of the state. The [567] tobacco was sent at first to Africa, in exchange for increasingly large numbers of slaves for the ever-greedy sugar industry. Slowly, however, a secondary market for Bahia tobacco developed in Europe. With few exceptions the sugar was marketed in Europe and at a high price. The engenhos of Bahia were the largest in Brazil, though still very small by modern standards.[24]

175 648 The development of the colony did not proceed smoothly. In the mid-seventeenth century Bahia was occupied for a brief period by the Dutch, but the development of the colony faltered only momentarily. On the other hand, the Dutch occupied Pernambuco and the north coast for a longer period. The subsequent transference of Dutch efforts to the West Indies was to have a profound effect upon the future of

175 45 per cent of the total investment was in slaves—labor costs, always
249 471 high, had been driven up by the suppression of the slave trade. The
454 relatively small proportion of steam mills is at once a reflection of
the continuing primitive technology and a sign of the improvements
which were to come later in the century. The value of production for
[433] this year was $1,213,000—a return of 6.6 per cent on the capital
investment.[35]

175 While the attention of the *Baiano* was focused on the sugar
249 industry during this golden age, tobacco unobtrusively was becoming
178 439 a primary commercial product. The suppression of the slave trade
deprived tobacco of its African market, but at the same time the
European market was expanding. The spread of cigar smoking in Europe
created an increasing demand for Bahian leaf. Ultimately the European
demand for quality leaf and the development of a Brazilian market for
the poorer grades were to carry tobacco to the leading position among
Bahia's commercial products.

175 433 To a very large degree, the mold of the colonial Recôncavo was
249 fixed in the sixteenth century. Its socio-economic system was nurtured
by the prosperous semi-monopoly of sugar production. While the south
[565] of Brazil was a raw frontier zone of migratory agricultural adventurers,
the *Paulistas* (natives of São Paulo) of early colonial times,[36] a stable
and wealthy aristocratic society was developing in the Recôncavo. In
[477] the early eighteenth century, when West Indies competition undermined
the sugar monopoly, the Recôncavo might have responded creatively to
the challenge, but failed to do so. The simultaneous mineral boom in
Minas Gerais drained away the more experimental elements and left
behind those who were less adventurous. Yet before the denial of
markets had disrupted entirely the old economic and cultural pattern,
the late eighteenth-early nineteenth century resurgence reaffirmed

BB
175
249
433 the traditional values. As has been seen, the re-opening of the markets at first particularly benefited the Recôncavo.

NB
175
433 The developments in the Recôncavo were shared only partially by the other areas of the Brazilian Northeast. The colonial economy of Pernambuco, the second major center in the Northeast, was not nurtured

NB
EB
[316] by a prosperity equal to that of Bahia. The booms in the mineral areas, which had a disruptive effect on the Recôncavo, apparently were less strongly felt in more-distant Pernambuco. In the south of Brasil,

EB
175
433
316
241 neither Rio de Janeiro nor São Paulo shared in Bahia's colonial opulence until the nineteenth century. Moreover, the mining developments, which were a disturbing influence on Recôncavo society, had a stimulating effect on agriculture and trade in the South, especially in São Paulo. Although Minas Gerais attracted some settlers from the South, in the main the mineral development acted as a stimulant to agriculture. Thus the forces of colonial evolution in the Recôncavo were distinctive variants of those characteristic of the whole of Brasil.

BB
175 The Last Hundred Years--1850 to the Present. The series of external forces which contributed to the revival of the Recôncavo in the early nineteenth century were destined to sweep it from the main current of Brazilian development. The pressure of these outside events were apparent in the Recôncavo as early as 1825, but it was in the last half of the century that the region was relegated to the subordinate position which it occupies today.

B
BB
175
567
648
[439] There is a historical connection between the events which first bestowed and later took away Recôncavo prosperity. The collapse in the West Indies sugar industry re-opened markets to Brazil, but it also ended England's economic interests in slavery. With no vested

B
BB
175
567
648

interest to deter her, Great Britain became in the nineteenth century the great anti-slavery force of the world. The British government began to press Brazil for a treaty to halt the slave trade. In 1826 a treaty was signed in which Brazil agreed to end the slave trade within four years. However, Brazil had just achieved its independence (1824), and the new national government was too weak to enforce the provisions of the treaty. After 25 years of bitter diplomatic exchanges with Great Britain, the Brazilian government succeeded in fulfilling its treaty obligations, and after 1852 almost no slaves were landed in Brazil.

EB
175
567
249
178

The end of the slave trade foreshadowed the end of slave labor in Brazil. The Northeast fought to preserve the system, but it was doomed not only as a result of extra-Brazilian pressures but also because of internal economic development. Just as in the eighteenth century the political capital had shifted from the North (Salvador) to the Central-South (Rio de Janeiro), so in the nineteenth century the economic center of gravity moved to São Paulo and adjacent Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais.[37] At first the developments in São Paulo imitated those of the Northeast, and a sugar industry employing traditional techniques was established. Almost immediately, however, the Central-South began to demonstrate an initiative unknown in the old sugar regions.

BB
EB
NB
175
439
433
249

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Bahia was exporting 12,000 tons of sugar, Pernambuco 8,400 tons, Rio de Janeiro 5,400 tons, and São Paulo 600 tons.[38] By mid-century Rio de Janeiro--chiefly Campos, near the mouth of the Rio Paraíba--was producing more sugar than any other province. In 1875, Rio de Janeiro was still the largest producer, with São Paulo second, Pernambuco third, and Bahia

000 fourth. By the end of the century, São Paulo was the largest sugar

EB BB 175 249 433 439 By the end of the century, São Paulo was the largest sugar producer, chiefly supplying its own internal market, but also exporting in small quantity. The Recôncavo struggled to maintain even a poor fourth position.[39]

SB 175 567 [249] The growth of the sugar industry in the South was not an isolated development but was one part of a general agricultural and economic expansion. The south of Brazil, which had gained new political power as a result of its expansion, began to press for abolition of slaves. Slave labor had not played a significant role in the south after 1850. SB 175 567 671 In 1871 a law was passed providing for the gradual emancipation of slaves and the compensation of slave holders. The Northeast resisted bitterly but in vain. A new law passed in 1888 gave complete and immediate freedom to the slaves; and this law did not provide for compensation of the slave owners.

BB 175 567 439 249 433 464 The end of slavery threatened the Recôncavo in two ways. The suppression of the slave traffic destroyed the African trade in tobacco. The loss was soon more than compensated by the rapid expansion of the market for Bahian tobacco in Europe. By the 1870's tobacco surpassed sugar and became the chief export of Bahia. The effect of the emancipation on the sugar industry was much more far-reaching. The freeing of the slaves destroyed the labor base of sugar cultivation and processing. The gradual character of emancipation cushioned the blow somewhat, but it was still disastrous to the industry. Slaves left the plantations by the thousands, and there was no alternative source of labor. Sugar exports fell to a fourth of the pre-emancipation level. After a time the emancipated Negroes and mulattoes returned to the plantations and mills under a system of free labor. But Bahian sugar could not regain even a substantial part of its former importance.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

BB
175 The world-wide expansion of sugar cane production, the develop-
178 ment of the sugar beet, and the improvement of sugar technology had
249
257 changed sugar from an expensive luxury to a relatively cheap semi-
433 necessity. The sugar industry of the Recôncavo always had been based
upon the production of small quantities of a high-value product. Only
with great reluctance and considerable difficulty could it convert
itself to cheap mass production.

B
175 The Brazilian industry as a whole was unable to compete effec-
178 tively in the international mass market. Brazilian exports in the
433 early twentieth century dropped to one-half, even one-third of the
439
nineteenth century level. At the London Conference in 1937, Brazil
could claim as her quota only 1.6 per cent of the total international
sugar trade.

B
The Brazilian industry maintained itself behind a tariff wall.
BB The more efficient and strategically located sugar areas of Campos
175
43 (Rio de Janeiro) and São Paulo had access to growing local markets
249
257 in the expanding Central-South. But Bahia had no sizable local market,
and distance limited its access to the main Brazilian markets. More-
over, it was an inefficient, high-cost producer. Under these circum-
stances it could not compete in a free-market situation.

B
For the sugar industry as a whole the difficulties of adjust-
175 ment to the almost complete loss of foreign markets were increased
257
178 by the necessity for sweeping technological reorganization.[40] Until
B the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Brazil's entire sugar
[249] production was manufactured in small and primitive engenhos which
used the open pan method ~~and~~ produced dark, low-quality sugar. The
development of the steam engine, vacuum pans, centrifuges, and filters
had made possible a mill both larger and more efficient. Under the
name of engenho central (central mill), the new industrial complex

EB
NB
175 In the first quarter of the twentieth century this competition
249 257 of the more efficient and centrally located sugar industry of the
B 175 Central-South threatened to bankrupt the Northeast.[44] Because the
654 nation feared that a collapse of the sugar economy in the Northeast
249 257 would destroy the social and economic base of these states, steps
B were taken to stabilize the industry. In 1933 the Instituto do
[647] Açúcar e do Álcool (Institute of Sugar and Alcohol) was created as
a semi-autonomous branch of the federal government. Its purpose was
to stabilize prices, maintain an equilibrium of production through
quotas, and to control foreign sale of sugar. The effect of this
program has been to subsidize the less efficient industry of the
Northeast at the expense of the industry of the Central-South.

NB EB During World War II temporary disruption of the national
178 249 production quota system allowed the Central-South to expand, an
257 43 advance which it continued to maintain after the war. This expansion
limited the markets available to the sugar industry of the Northeast.
BB In Bahia the relative decline in sugar production, begun in the
178 249 1860's, continued steadily except for a break during and following
257 • 433 World War I. In 1952 the mills of Bahia produced only 60,279 tons
B of (white) sugar of a total Brazilian production of 1,785,017 tons.[45]

[433] While the sugar industry of the Recôncavo was losing markets
BB 175 in the initial half of the twentieth century, the tobacco industry
178 249 was able to maintain and in some cases even to expand its markets.
43 Although the maximum level of export of Brazilian tobacco was
reached in 1902 (50,000 tons), the decline thereafter was only
moderate, and the export was stabilized, except for World War II,
at about 30,000 tons, 80 per cent of which was from Bahia. In 1865
BB 175 the first cigarette factory in Bahia had been founded.[46] Small
277 472 operators had produced cigars for some time, but by the beginning

BB 175 277 472

of the twentieth century there were four cigarette factories and twelve cigar factories in the Recôncavo.[47]

BB 647 249 654 656

As was characteristic for other products in Brazil, a semi-autonomous government organization was set up to stabilize the tobacco industry in Bahia—the Instituto Bahiano do Fumo (Bahian Institute of Tobacco). Founded in 1935, the Instituto attempts to stimulate the production and improvement of techniques and quality, supervise marketing through a grading system, set minimum prices, and control export of leaf tobacco. Although the Instituto has not succeeded in changing significantly the techniques of the tobacco industry, it has been reasonably successful in maintaining production and price.

BB 175 178 249 245

Just as Bahia had been displaced from its leading position within Brazil, so in turn was the Recôncavo displaced from its exalted position within the state. Tobacco replaced sugar as Bahia's leading commercial product in the nineteenth century, but forfeited its position to cacao in the twentieth century. The replacement of sugar by tobacco was primarily a shift within the Recôncavo, but the rise of cacao brought to the fore Bahia's southern coast. In one sense, however, the Recôncavo retained its old centrality—Salvador remains today the leading political and economic focus of the state, even for the cacao trade.

BB 433 249

The continued importance of the Recôncavo in Bahia has been partially the result of the vested interests of the sugar and tobacco systems.

BB 161 162

In addition, the Recôncavo remains today the leading center of population in Bahia, despite its relative decline. In 1872 the Recôncavo had at least 450,000 out of a total state population of 1,379,616. Thereafter the position of the Recôncavo declined, so that by 1940 only one-fourth of the almost four million people of the state lived in this region. However, the compact population

161 distribution and the vested political and economic interests of the
162 Recôncavo allowed it to continue as the dominant region of the state.

177 The Recôncavo has remained a conservative area in Brasil, and
178 within the state it seems to exert a strong traditional influence. On
433
249 a national scale, however, the traditional values which are preserved
565
181 in Bahian culture have been overridden by the aggressive dynamism of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Moreover, the economic core of tradition in the Recôncavo--the sugar-producing upper class--is being progressivel infiltrated and dominated by the new economic interests of the Central-South. The effects of these new economic interests are manifest in the administrative and labor problems of the sugar industry in the present decade.[48] New economic groups also are coming to the fore in the tobacco industry.

The technological revolution in the sugar industry and the emergence of a new "progressive" upper class have weakened but not destroyed the traditional orientation of the Recôncavo. The cultural patterns which have so successfully resisted basic change for almost four centuries will not easily give way. However, the issues have been joined, and already the old technology, the old upper class, and the old inter-class social fabric have been profoundly disturbed. In the long run it seems inevitable that the cultural patterns of the Recôncavo will have to accommodate many new values.

177 Not all the new social forces are restricted to the upper
178 class. More and more new technology, such as the automobile, new
565 political and social institutions, such as labor unions, and new ideas
181 from the South, brought through newspapers, radios, and travelers, have affected the lives of the lower classes. While the access of this group to new ideas is more limited than that of the upper class,

177
178 its vested interest in the traditional system is weaker. Thus on all
565
181 social levels the old Recôncavo is being threatened.

For the present, however, tradition is a continuing and powerful
178
181 force in agriculture and in the economic and social institutions
241 which surround agriculture in the Recôncavo.
433

OOO

[113] [12] Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8 (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatistica, 1949), pp. 59-80.
[114] The Zona Fisiográfica Centro-Litoral (Central-Littoral Physiographic zone) is one of a series of nine so-called physiographic zones used as major subdivisions in Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8. It includes all 21 of the Recôncavo municípios, and 17 others.

[13] Amaral, op. cit., II, 367.

[14] Amaral, op. cit., II, 366, and Calogeras, op. cit., p. 31.

[139] [15] Manihot utilissima, called cassava, manioc, or, sometimes, tapioc in English and mandioca in Portuguese.

[16] Amaral, op. cit., II, 11-12.

[17] Prado, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

[18] Minas, Yorbes, Geges, Hausa, and other Guinea Coast peoples.
[113] See T. Lynn Smith, Brazil: People and Institutions (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1946), pp. 168-169.

[794] [791] [19] African religions, for example, survive in a modified form in the candomblé (fetish) cults and in the supernatural conceptions prevalent in the Recôncavo.

[20] Neither the total number of slaves imported into Brazil nor the number brought to the Recôncavo is known. Calogeras, op. cit., pp. 27-28, estimates the number as 40,000 per year in the seventeenth century, 50,000 per year in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, or 14,000,000 for the 300 years of the slave trade. Another source has estimated that 1,200,000 slaves were imported between 1550 and 1850, a more reasonable figure. See section by Pedro Calmon in Curious and Interesting Facts Concerning the First European Settlement Made in the New World, p. 9. It is also asserted in this latter source that "more than half remained in Bahia;" this is less reasonable.

[21] Prado, op. cit., p. 46.

[206] [22] A rope-like twist of dark, often sweetened, tobacco wound in a large coil of 50 to 100 lbs.

[23] At the end of the seventeenth century Bahia was exporting 7,500 tons of sugar per year; Pernambuco 5,400 tons, and Rio de Janeiro 5,350 tons. At this same period Bahia exported 25,000 rolls of tobacco (perhaps 1,125 tons at 45 kg. per roll) compared with 2,500 rolls from Pernambuco and Alagoas. Calogeras, op. cit., p. 31.

[433] [24] Calogeras, op. cit., pp. 30-31, cites João Antonil, Cultura e Opulencia do Brasil, por sus Drogas e Minas (1711), who says that in 1711 the mean sugar export--which must have been virtually the entire production--per engenho in Bahia was 52 tons, in Rio de Janeiro 41 tons, and in Pernambuco 22 tons. The weight is given in arrobas by Calogeras.

[25] Amaral, op. cit., II, 84.

[26] Calogeras, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

B 433 178 BB 433 178 177 181

Economic and social changes in Brazil during the last century have had two important effects upon the relative position of the Recôncavo: (1) This historic region, in common with much of the Northeast, has lagged behind the new economic and social centers of the Central-South--the Recôncavo has become, vis-a-vis Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and the southern states, an under-developed area. (2) Many new, usually externally originated, cultural elements have been rapidly accepted in the Recôncavo, whereas much of the conservative ideology of the society has remained essentially unchanged.

BB 563

Racial Characteristics. The Recôncavo is a region of heterogenous racial characteristics--in every município each of the three basic racial groups (white, black, and mixed) comprises at least 10 per cent of the population. These racial categories generally do not correspond to social groups, nor is the Recôncavo in any sense a plural society. In linage, in social and cultural interaction, and in the daily business of earning a living the various people of the region are closely linked.

During three centuries of slavery hundreds of thousands of Africans were brought into Bahia, and the Negro element in the population is still large. As a result of this and the more or less continuous miscegenation "Baia [Bahia] and Negroid characteristics are very closely associated in Brasilian thinking."[6] On the basis of the 1940 census, over 70 per cent of the people of the state of Bahia were Negroes or mixed bloods. Only one other Brazilian state--Amazonas--had a higher proportion, and the national average was only 36 per cent.[7] Within Bahia the proportion of non-whites was highest in the Centro-Litoral (east-central Bahia), which includes the Recôncavo. In 1940, 78 per cent of the people of this census division were Negroes or mixed bloods.[8]

241 *Economic Orientation of the Population.* The *Baianos* of the
433 Recôncavo are predominately an agricultural people. This is true not
463 only of the actual cultivators and the associated economic classes of
[369] the countryside, villages, and towns, but also in a sense of the
[162] almost 350,000 urban peoples of Salvador. As a result of longstanding
economic interdependence and continuous travel and migration back
and forth, the associations of the people of Salvador with the soil
are compelling and personal.[18] In their agricultural orientation
the people of the Recôncavo are typical of the general Brazilian
population. Even with the inclusion of Salvador, with its relatively
[162] large number of domestic and industrial workers, 47 per cent of the
male workers of the Recôncavo were classified as agricultural laborers,
whereas for the nation as a whole the comparable figure was 57 per cent,
and for the United States, 31 per cent.[19] In the Recôncavo, if
Salvador is disregarded, agricultural workers (with hunters and
fishers) composed 65 per cent of the total male working population.

241 Agriculture is even more important than the above figures
433 indicate, for a large share of the remaining population of the Recôncavo
441 is occupied with processing and marketing agricultural products,
supplying the agriculturalists with goods and with credit, or serving
indirectly the needs of agriculture. Thus it is evident that life
and livelihood in the Recôncavo is essentially dependent upon agriculture. The agricultural orientation of the Recôncavo is reflected
in the economic roles of individuals and classes, but also in the
preoccupation of the people with matters of soil, climate, crops, and
land value. In Salvador the price and market for agricultural products
are commonplace subjects of discussion, and throughout the region
merchants and businessmen observe the weather and conditions of the
crops with interest and, on many occasions, with anxiety.

241 463 464 and manioc production. While there is some processing of agricultural products in this zone, the trade centers primarily are local, and there have been few historical reasons for urban development.

463 433 241 Around the Bay the relative size of the service segment increases to five, even to ten times the agricultural labor force. In this area there are some alternative productive pursuits, fishing and charcoal burning, for example. The definition given for the "service segment" is less appropriate in this zone: the fishermen, for example, render their service primarily to the major urban centers rather than to the agriculturalists. Moreover, there is a large parasitic group, especially in the sugar zone. The decline and rationalization of the sugar industry have left an unproductive class living in waning state but still supported by the agricultural economy. The sugar industry, which is more efficiently organized than other agricultural enterprises in the Recôncavo, probably is better able to support parasitic elements.

464 241 In addition to providing services, the service segment is the local labor reserve for agriculture. The extent of the reserve depends not only on the size of the service segment, but also on its composition. For example, in the western and northern areas of the Recôncavo, where two-fifths of the people are agricultural laborers, perhaps an additional one-fifth consists of small children and the aged and infirm. If those who perform essential services, basic to the economy, are deducted from the remaining two-fifths, few are left for a labor reserve. Fortunately the tobacco-manioc economy of the Recôncavo has little need for seasonal labor, and long-term labor needs, in theory at least, can be filled from the *sertão*.

464 In the sugar cane zone and on the Bay margins the general labor reserve is larger. However, this reserve is drawn upon by the labor

464 extravagant urban centers, the oil field and refineries north of the Bay, and the fishing and shipping industries. Moreover, this area has [565] a larger upper-class element, which as has been seen, could be counted upon to perform manual labor only under dire circumstances.

464
241 Thus in all parts of the Recôncavo the local labor reserve readily available for agricultural production and expansion is small. In compensation the general high mobility of the lower class would make available non-local reserves,[31] providing the proper incentives were offered. The exploitative agricultural system of the Recôncavo is ill-equipped to offer these incentives.

162
369
433 Urban Population. The remaining 493,944 people of the Recôncavo, 46 per cent of the total 1950 population, lived in the nine major urban centers. These people have much the same relationship to agricultural production as the "service segment" discussed above, but the relationship is less direct. These urban centers are engaged almost exclusively in serving and in exploiting the agricultural population of the Recôncavo and other agricultural areas of Bahia.

633
162 Salvador is the dominant city of the Recôncavo and of Bahia. In 1950 it contained 389,422 people, 36 per cent of the total population of the Recôncavo and 8 per cent of the total population of Bahia, or 79 per cent of all urban people of the Recôncavo and 41 per cent of all urban people of the state. The next largest city in Bahia was Feira de Santana--less than one-fourteenth the size of Salvador.

633 Although Salvador is the fourth city in Brazil, it is much smaller than either Rio de Janeiro or São Paulo and somewhat smaller than Recife.[32] It ranked just above Pôrto Alegre in total population. Salvador, often called either Bahia or o capital, cannot be interpreted entirely or even predominately in terms of the Recôncavo. While its

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 132]

633 The other urban centers of the Recôncavo:

[162]
[443]

	1950 Population
Maragogipe	9,744
Muritiba	7,452
Cruz das Almas	6,758
São Gonçalo	3,771

[277] are all local trade and cigar manufacturing centers. Maragogipe is a
[504] port of minor importance.[37] The other urban centers have inland loca-
[361] tions, near the inner edge of the Crystalline Uplands.[38]

Near the Recôncavo are four urban centers which have minor but appreciable effect upon its agricultural economy:

[162]

	1950 Population
Santo Antônio de Jesus	11,417
Nazaré	11,215
Castro Alves	6,479
Serrinha	4,602

Santo Antônio de Jesus and Nazaré are located along the southern periphery of the Recôncavo, and Castro Alves and Serrinha on the southwestern and northwestern periphery, respectively. [496] All these centers are on one of Bahia's two main railroads, both of which terminate at the Bay—at Salvador or at São Roque do Paraguaçu.[39]

633 In 1950 the nine major urban centers of the Recôncavo had
464 100,000 to 120,000 workers in industry, transportation, and merchan-
433 dising.[40] In all cities of the Recôncavo, except Salvador, the
[162] industrial workers almost exclusively were engaged in processing
agricultural products--in sugar refining, cigar manufacturing, and
[231] slaughtering. Except for some of the animals slaughtered in Feira de
[241] Santana and the poorer grades of tobacco brought in from the *sertão*,
these agricultural products originate in the Recôncavo.

The industrial structure of Salvador is more complex. It processes agricultural products from the Recôncavo, but also from other parts of the state, notably cacao. There is a small textile industry. It is probable that the majority of the industrial workers are employed in numerous small service industries which supply Salvador

BB
633 and, to a lesser extent, the rest of the Recôncavo and the state. The
464 relatively large and affluent upper class of Salvador utilizes an
433 extravagantly large number of domestics and of industrial workers—in
food, clothing, and construction industries.

BB
178 *Conclusion*. The preservation of traditional values among the
181 people of the Recôncavo is evidence of the survival value of their
433 conservative culture, but the relatively slow growth of the population
161 is indicative of a declining economic role in the nation. Although
B
BB the population of both Brazil and the Recôncavo grew between 1940 and
161 1950, Brazil's population increased 26.5 per cent, the Reconcavo's only
162 16 per cent. In Brazil as a whole, urban populations increased 46 per
cent, in the Recôncavo only 34 per cent. The rural population of
Brazil increased by 17 per cent; the approximately comparable figure
for the Recôncavo was 4 per cent.

Within the Recôncavo the net effect of population changes in the decade 1940 to 1950 was the reduction in rural population from 60 per cent to 54 per cent of the total population (see Table XIII).
BB Even more serious, from the agricultural point of view, was the
161
162 decline in the relative number of agricultural workers. Despite the
241 influx of agricultural people from the *sertão*, the percentage of the
464 total population in the agricultural labor force fell from 21 per cent
(1940) to 18 per cent (1950).

BB The greatest single concentration of population in the Recôncavo
633 is the city of Salvador. One-third of the people of the region live
[162] in this predominant city, occupying the tip of the peninsula which
separates the Baía de Todos os Santos from the sea. In this eccentric
peninsular location, Salvador is relatively distant from the main
centers of agricultural production and has only circuitous land

241 464 "*Falta de braços*"--lack of labor--is a problem much discussed in the Recôncavo. The landholders, merchants, and agronomists interviewed in the region almost invariably complained of the shortage of agricul- [461] tural workers or renters. At the same time, the level of per capita productivity of most agricultural labor remains low, and, as will be seen, there have been few attempts at improvement of agricultural techniques. Neither is there any apparent trend toward higher wages or higher returns on rented properties, which might attract more people to the area. The complaints of labor shortages must be viewed in the context of the systems of production and the economic organization of agriculture, which will be discussed in the following chapters.

241 464 161 162 433 Several basic agricultural problems are prefigured in the analysis of the distribution of the population of the Recôncavo. The concentration of agricultural people in the western and northern *municípios* of the region corresponds, as will be shown, to a major area of agricultural production. Since this is also an area of marginal and irregular precipitation, it is almost inevitable that the level of production must be uneven and the lives of the agriculturalists unstable. The declining agricultural population of the Central Recôncavo is a symptom of the declining importance of the sugar economy, discussed previously, and of the centralization and rationalization currently under way. The alternating zones with high and low densities of population indicate the nuclear and separate character of the areas of agricultural production, detailed in the pattern of crop regions to be discussed in the chapters which follow.

CHAPTER V

CROPS AND CROPLAND DISTRIBUTION

BB 241 133 Introduction. The Recôncavo is an enclave of cultivated land facing on the sea and more than half surrounded by the Sertão of Northeastern Brazil. BB 361 241 133 It is one of a number of detached areas of dense settlement and intensive crop cultivation scattered along the northeastern coast--Pernambuco, Sergipe, Alagoas, and the states of the northern coast of the "bulge" of Brazil have similar coastal nuclei. B 361 241 133 Indeed, this littoral mode of settlement is characteristic of Brazil, although in the center and the south of the country the concentrations of settlement and cultivation are usually separated from the ocean by a belt of rough hills or mountains. A glance at a population map clearly reveals that Brazil is a coastal nation as far as the distribution of its people is concerned; indirectly such a map demonstrates the coastal distribution of crop cultivation. In this, Brazil somewhat resembles the United States at the opening of the nineteenth century when it, too, was altogether a nation of the Atlantic seaboard. BB 361 241 433 178 The specific nuclear character of the Recôncavo dates from the beginning of its settlement--it was from the first a region of crop cultivation, and the settlement of the sertão of Bahia derived from the people and needs of the Recôncavo. During the four centuries since the Portuguese first came, the crops, animals, and systems of production of the Recôncavo have retained much of their original character.

BB 128 241 The present chapter deals with the principal activity of the Recôncavo, the production of crops. As a preliminary to the discussion of the individual crops and their distributions, it is appropriate to

127 the errors concerned crops of trivial importance, but occasionally the
241 use of such erroneous data would have produced serious misinterpretations.
Where this has been the case, it was necessary to estimate a more approp-
127 riate figure. Such estimates were developed by inferences from related
128 241 statistical data supported by observations in the field. The procedures
which were employed are illustrated in full in Appendix D through a
detailed analysis of the data (for manioc) which were most thoroughly
modified in this fashion. Wherever modified, rather than official data
have been used in the text, the official data and the basis of modifi-
cation have been indicated in a footnote or in the appendix.

241 Crops and Animals of the Recôncavo. A very large number of crops
433 are known to the agriculturalists of the Recôncavo, but the number of
important crops is small. It is convenient to divide these into three
groups--basic subsistence crops, basic commercial crops, and supplementary
(minor subsistence and commercial) crops. As will be seen, many subsis-
tence crops have their commercial importance, but the present concern
241 is only with a broad grouping. The crops of the Recôncavo are listed
433 below, together with their local names and the area of their cultivation
192 in 1948:

Basic Subsistence Crops:		
Manioc or Cassava (Mandioca)	22,472	hectares
Corn (Milho)	9,679	"
Beans (Feijão)	7,034	"
Bananas (Banana)	1,069	"
Peanuts (Amendoim)	550	"
Sweet Potatoes (Batata doce)	344	"
Basic Commercial Crops:		
Tobacco (Fumo)	21,886	"
Sugar Cane (Cana de Açúcar)	11,695	"
Coffee (Café)	2,941	"
Orange (Laranja)	1,116	"
Coconut (Côco)	876	"

241
433
192

Supplementary Crops
(Subsistence and Commercial):

Pineapple (Abacaxi)	168	hectares
Rice (Arroz)	61	"
Tomatoes (Tomate)	46	"
White Potatoes (Batata inglêsa)	44	"
Cotton (Algodão)	40	"
Onions (Cebola)	14	"
Garlic (Alho)	5	"
Green or Snap Beans (Fava)	4	"

241 311 245 On the basis of the above figures, the total cultivated land in the Recôncavo in 1948 was about 80,000 hectares. In addition to the above, there are a number of tree crops, not cultivated in the true sense, which are important in the agricultural complex. More often than not these "crops" are of spontaneous origin.

[192]

African Oil Palm (Dendê)
Mango (Manga)
Jack Fruit (Jaca)
Cashew (Caju)
Bread Fruit (Fruta de pão)

231 The following animals are important in the livestock economy of the Recôncavo:

[192]

Cattle (Bovinos)
  Cows (Vacas)
  Oxen (Bois de trabalho)
Sheep (Ovinos)
Goats (Caprinos)
Swine (Suinos)
Donkeys (Asininos or Burros)
Mules (Muares)
Horses (Eqüinos or Cavalos)

These animals will be discussed in the chapter on animal industry (Chapter VII).

244 Manioc. Manioc was one of the most important cultivated plants which the Portuguese colonists borrowed from the Indians of Brazil. [175] [262] [178] [565] Flour made from the manioc root, farinha de mandioca, was the basic subsistence food of the colonial sugar economy and remains today the principal element of the diet of much of the Brazilian lower class. 000 Manioc production is most notable along the coast of Brazil, from the

B
244
433

Manioc production is most notable along the coast of Brazil, from the mouth of the Amazon to Rio Grande do Sul, but it has considerable importance in the interior of the eastern half of the country.[4] The tonnage of manioc production in Brazil is exceeded only by that of sugar cane--thus manioc is produced in greater quantity than corn, beans, or rice, the other basic subsistence crops. However, the total value of manioc production is less than that of coffee, cotton, corn, or rice. In the Recôncavo the cultivated area of manioc, over 22,000 hectares, exceeds that of any other crop, and the value of its production is second only to tobacco. It is usually grown as a subsistence crop for local consumption, but there are a few areas of surplus production.

BB
244
311
433
262

NB
BB
244
252
262

Mandioca--manioc, cassava, or *yuca*--is a stem-propagated perennial which is tolerant of a variety of edaphic, climatic, and cultural conditions. The rootstock of the bitter variety--*Manihot utilissima*, or *M. esculenta*--which is most common in Bahia, contains a poisonous substance--manihotoxine--which must be removed before it can be used as human food. In the Northeast the roots almost universally are converted in crude mills into *farinha de mandioca*, a coarse flour which is eaten in either a raw or cooked state.[5] Sweet manioc (*manihot api*, in Brazil called *aipim*) is cultivated on a small scale. The rootstock of this variety may be eaten without extensive processing and is prepared, like the white potato, by boiling.

BB
244
252
433

The cultivation of manioc is a widespread feature of the cultural landscape of east-central Bahia, overshadowed only by the low and scrubby second growth, *capoêira*, which follows the intensive cultivation of this plant under a system of land rotation. Manioc cultivation and the processing of its roots are the most characteristic pursuits of the rural people--and often the most primitive.

NB
244
252

> Manioc is generally cultivated by hand by small cultivators on land near the huts in which they live--[land] called the mandiocal, very common in the interior of the state. The immediate preoccupation of the sertanejo [countryman of the interior] after the construction of his house is the planting of manioc to secure cheap food--either sweet manioc or bitter manioc, which is transformed into flour. All the family are employed in this work. The industry of flour production is rudimentary and it uses simple processes.

BB
NB
244
43
161

> The cultivation of manioc in Bahia is to provide flour for the local market, since the state does not export this product. The development of this culture is, therefore, closely related to the distribution of population, the most productive zones which are noted on the map corresponding to regions where the population is most dense. It is perfectly reasonable that the most productive region corresponds to the Recôncavo, where there is concentrated the mass of the population of Bahia and a large number of towns and cities, the most important and populous in the state. . . . . . it is the region of the most highly developed agriculture in the state; it united a relatively dense rural population with manioc, almost always cultivated on a large scale in the zones of the cultivation of tobacco.[6]

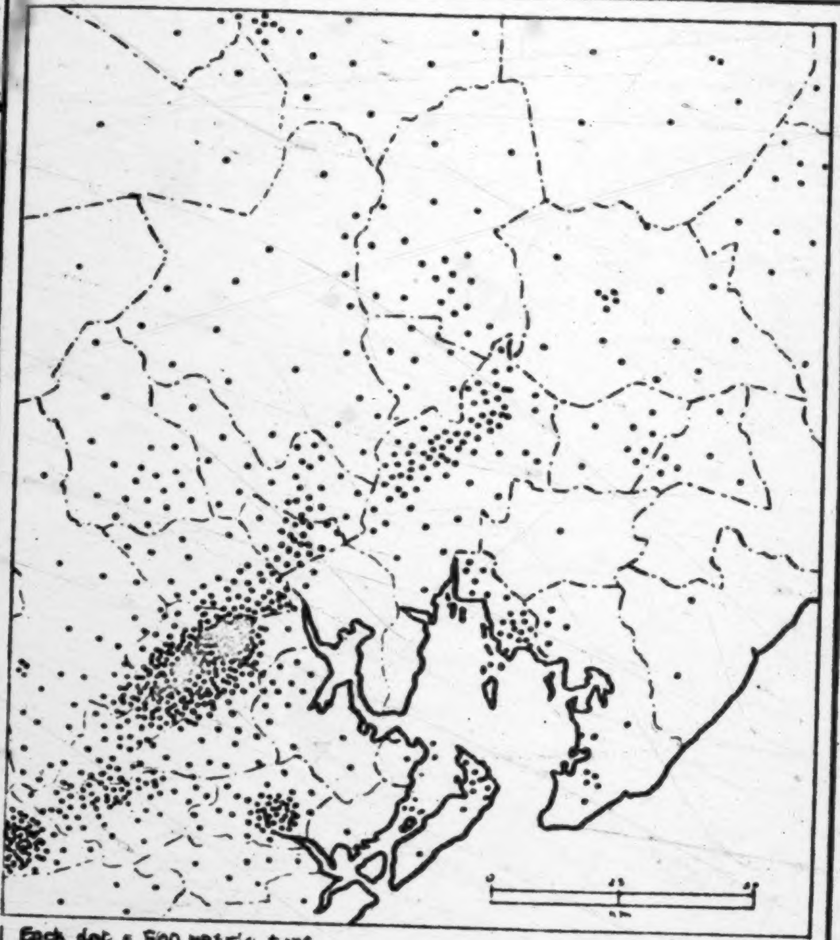
BB
244
341
433

As is indicated in the foregoing quotation, the distributional pattern of manioc reveals a very close association with the cultivation of tobacco and with certain urban centers. But as might be expected in view of the broad environmental tolerance of manioc, its distribution within the Recôncavo is not directly determined by any particular physical factor. Manioc is grown in all parts of the Recôncavo, excepting only the compact pockets of sugar cane cultivation. Only one município, São Sebastião, grew less than 100 hectares or produced less than 1,000 tons of tubers in 1948. In eight municípios the area of manioc cultivation exceeded 1,000 hectares, and the production was more than 10,000 tons in each. About 28 per cent of the cropland of the Recôncavo was in mandioca.[7]

The major concentration of manioc cultivation (Maps 22 and 23) and production (Maps 24 and 25) is along the eastern edge of the Crystalline Uplands in the Southwestern Recôncavo, where in 1948 three municípios[8] grew 54 per cent of the Recôncavo's 22,472 hectares of

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 154]

*102
244
311
● 433



Each dot = 500 metric tons

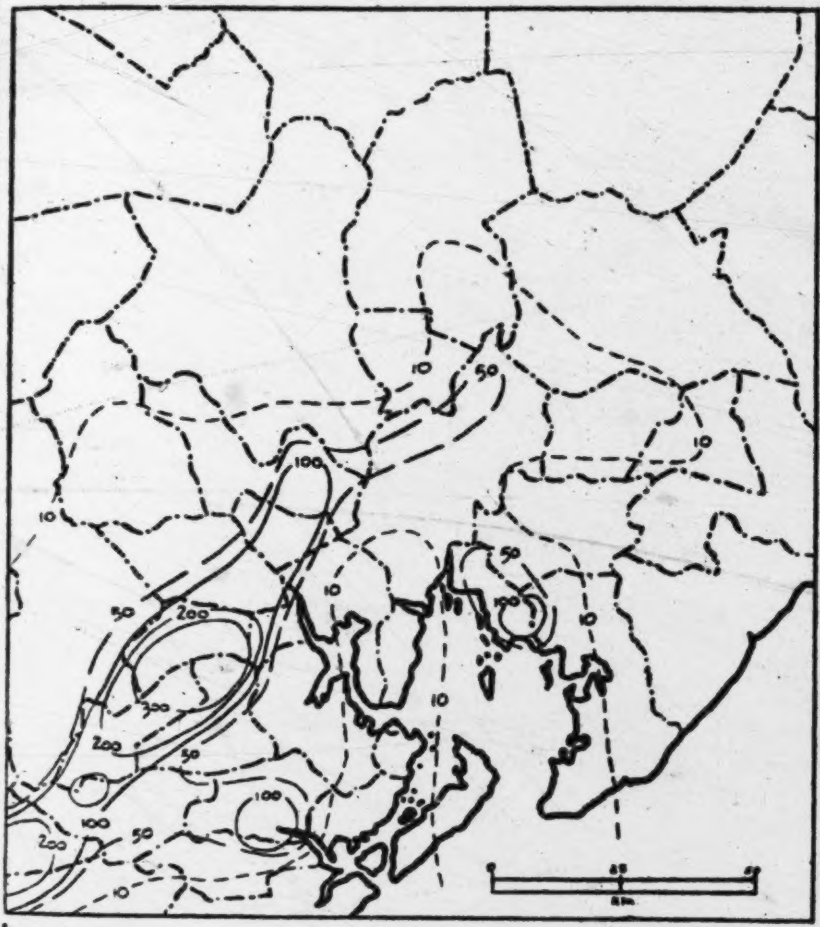
RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Manioc--1948

Source data modified from *Produção Agrícola: 1948*.

MAP 24

*102
244
• 433
311


10
50
10
100
10
10
50
100
10
10
50
200
300
200
50
10
100
100
200
50
10

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Tons of Manioc per Square Kilometer of Total Area—1948

Source data modified from Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 25

244 manioc and produced 38 per cent of its 393,720 tons of harvested roots.
433 Within this sub-region manioc occupied up to 20 per cent of the total lan
311 area, i.e., 20 hectares per square kilometer (Map 23). Despite the
[249] intensity of cultivation and the concentration of production, the crop
is viewed by the people primarily as a means—subsistence—to an end—
[242] leaf tobacco production.[9] Manioc characteristically succeeds tobacco
in the field and fallow rotation system and is used to extract the maximum possible value from such nutrients as remain in the soil.[10]

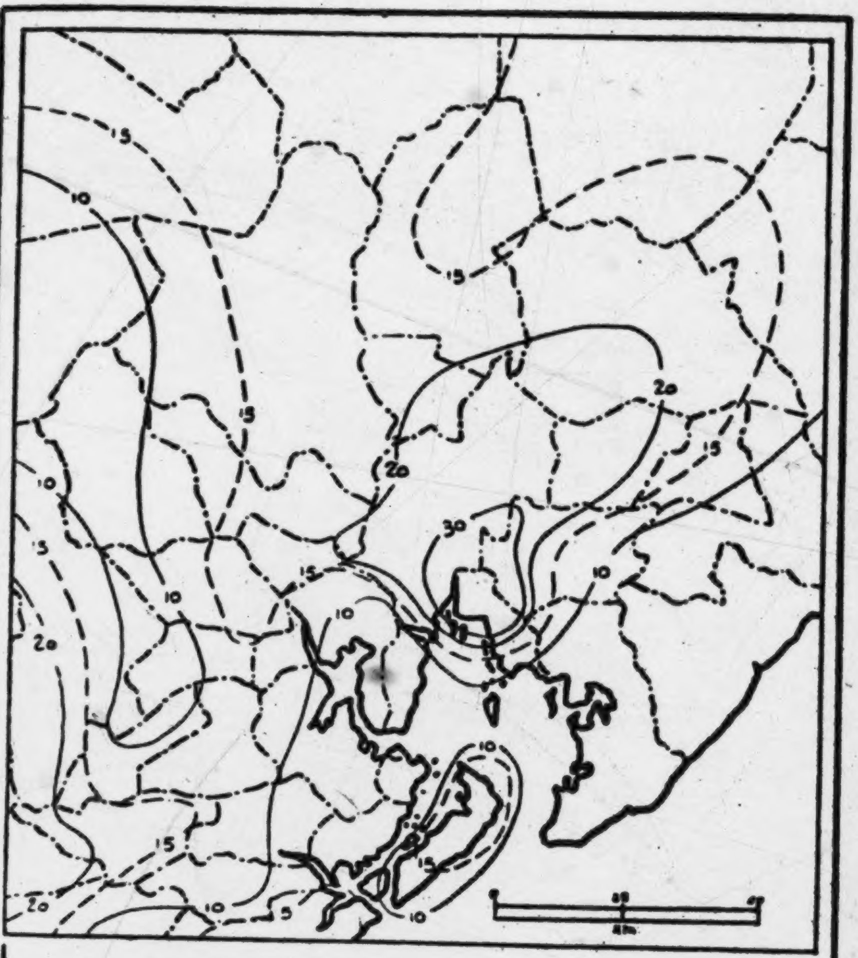
244 249 A close areal and functional relationship between the two crops is characteristic also of the linear zone of manioc cultivation which follows the belt of Intermediate Hills and the inner edge of the Uplands from the Rio Paraguaçu—at Cachoeira—to Irará. Much the same relationship exists in Santo Estêvão in the extreme west of the Recôncavo, where manioc, and tobacco, cultivation is concentrated in a zone of low serras. Apparently tobacco cultivation has been fixed by the greater precipitation around these serras, and manioc is grown in association.

The major southwestern concentration of manioc is continued beyond
the Recôncavo along a belt extending through Santo Antônio and into the
"coffee zone."[11] The cluster of manioc around the cidade of Santo
Antônio is circum-urban, but the principal functional association is
with tobacco cultivation, rather than with the small urban market.
[443] On the other hand, the concentration of manioc production around the
city of Nazaré reflects a dependency on the local urban market and
probably on the market of Salvador. Minor concentrations of cultivation in northern Itaparica and around Salvador also are related primarily to the market of the capital city.

244 311 The relative place of manioc within the agricultural system, as measured by the per cent of the total cropland which it occupies, varies widely within the Recôncavo (Map 26). The statistical extremes are

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 156]

·*102
244
• 433


15
10
15
15
20
20
10
15
15
30
10
10
15
20
10
10
15
20
10
5
10

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Yield of Manioc--1948

Tons per Hectare

Source data modified from Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 27

244 From the latitude of the head of the Bay northward, manioc appears
311 as a dominant crop only in the município of Pojuca. In the Central
Recôncavo, around the perimeter of the sugar cane area, manioc generally
occupied, in 1948, less than 30 per cent of the cropland. In the north,
[243] along the borders of the Recôncavo, the share of manioc in the cropland
dropped to 10 per cent, and it was replaced by corn and beans as the
basis of the subsistence economy.

244 The yield of manioc in the areas of heavy production was relatively
311 low—10 to 15 tons of roots per hectare—compared to the Central Recôncavo,
433 which produces small quantities at 30 tons per hectare (Map 27). These
[134] differences in yield are related in part to the difference in soil
fertility between the Cretaceous soils of the Central Recôncavo and
the sandy loams of the Southwest. In addition, manioc is cultivated
alone in the former zone, but follows the soil-taxing tobacco plant on
the fields of the Southwest, thus further reducing the yield. The mean
yield of manioc in the Recôncavo in 1948 was 14 tons per hectare, which
is close to the 13 tons per hectare of Brazil and of the French
Cameroons, but much higher than the 7 tons per hectare of Java and
Madura.[13]

244 Manioc is, then, a crop characteristic of most parts of the
249 Recôncavo and the surrounding zone, except in the sugar cane area and
[242] the Tabular Uplands. The area of greatest concentration of cultivation
and production is the Southwestern Recôncavo where manioc is integrated
with tobacco production in a system of land rotation. In addition,
as discussed above, manioc has the greatest relative importance of the
crops of two zones in which the total area cultivated is small: the
southwestern belt of forested lowland and the drier, scrub-forest
Crystalline Uplands.

249 the plant will no longer produce marketable leaves. This is done by cutting the entire stalk just above the shoots and allowing the plant to re-grow. The cutting and harvesting are repeated several times, producing a large quantity of leaf, but the prolonged harvest has resulted in accelerated impoverishment of the soil.

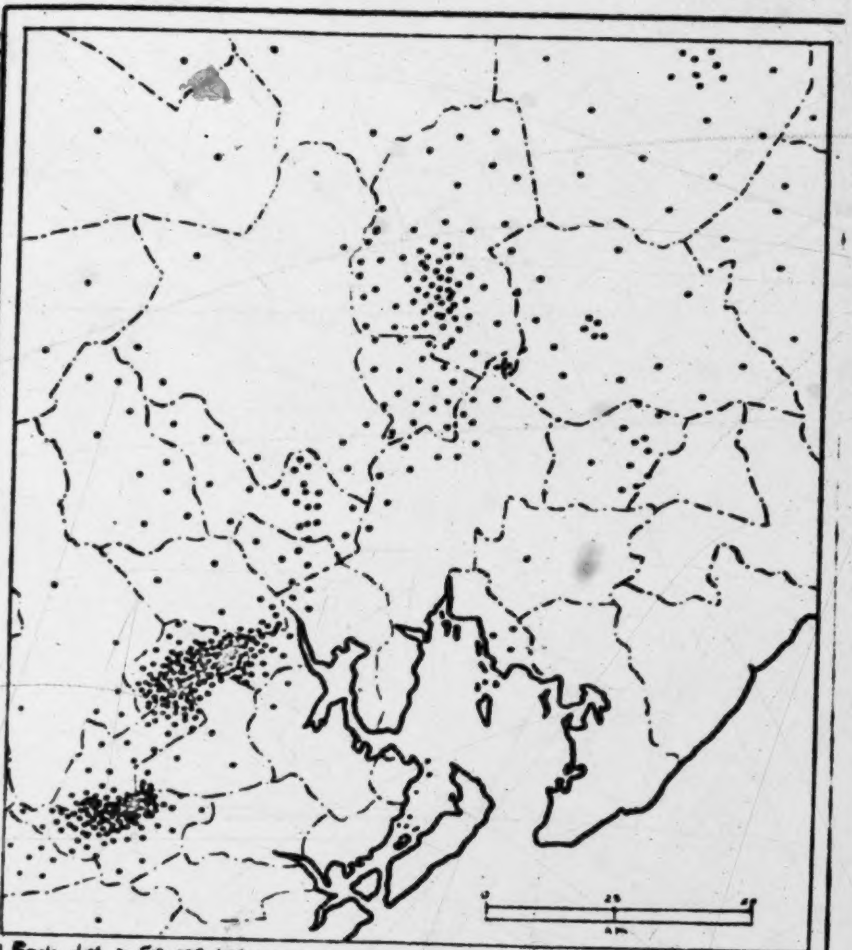
249
311
433 In 1948 the Recôncavo planted almost 22,000 hectares of tobacco,[15] and harvested over 20,000 tons of leaf. Each of four Recôncavo municípios grew more than 2,000 hectares and harvested over 1,000 tons: Cruz das Almas, Conceição do Almeida, São Gonçalo, and Irará. Two outlying municípios—Alagoinhas and Santo Estêvão—cultivated 1,000 hectares or more. In addition, one município contiguous with the Recôncavo, Santo Antônio, had over 6,000 hectares of tobacco and harvested over 5,000 tons of leaf. In Bahia, this município was second only to Cruz das Almas in area and production of leaf tobacco.

The maps of area (Maps 28 and 29) and production (Maps 30 and 31) of tobacco indicate quite clearly the overwhelming importance of the Southwestern Reconcâvo and the adjacent northern part of Santo Antônio. This area resolves itself into two clusters (Table XIII). The most important of these is centered in Cruz das Almas and includes the adjacent parts of Conceição do Almeida, São Filipe, and Muritiba. In 1948 this cluster had about 10,000 hectares of tobacco—46 per cent of the Recôncavo tobacco area—and produced about 9,500 tons—48 per cent of the total crop. Because of the high quality of the leaf, the crop of this area was valued at almost 58 per cent of the total value of tobacco production in the Recôncavo.

The second most important cluster of leaf tobacco production in east-central Bahia is centered on the cidade of Santo Antônio and lies almost entirely outside of the Recôncavo. In 1948 the total area of tobacco in this cluster was about 6,500 hectares, and the total

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 166]

*102
249
311
• 433



Each dot = 50,000 Kilograms

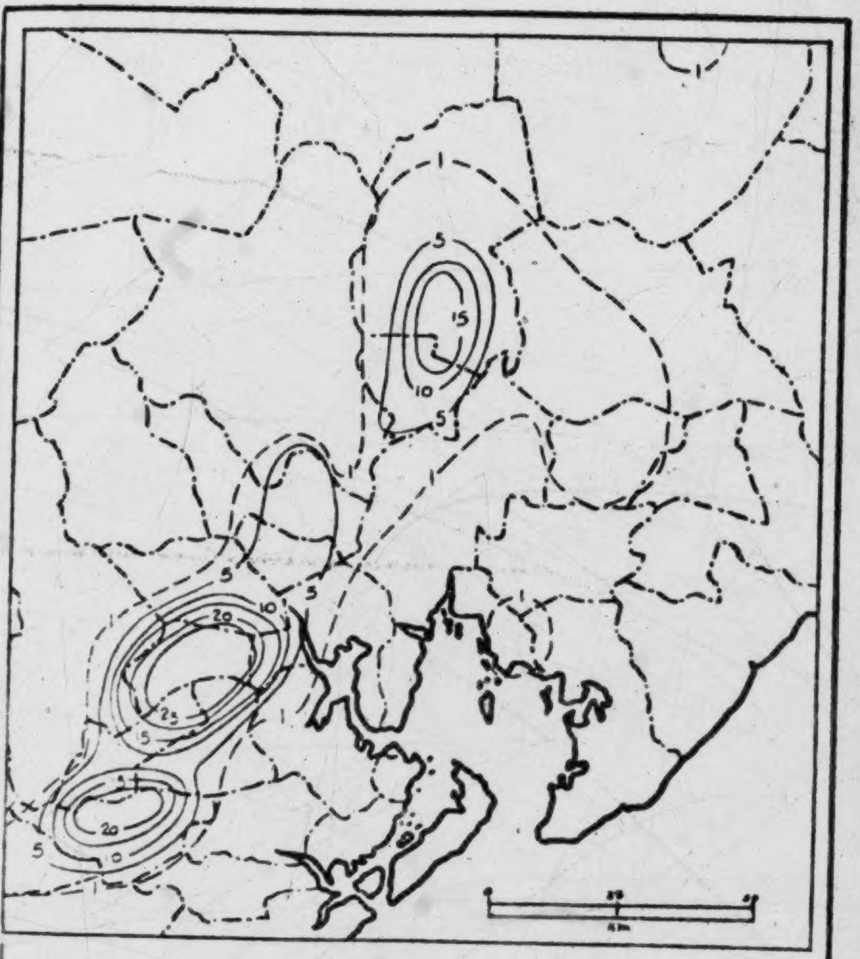
RECONCAVO OF BAHIA ·

Production of Tobacco--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1949.

MAP 30

*402
249
311
• 433


1
1
5
15
10
5
5
5
10
20
25
15
1
20
5
10
1

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Tons of Tobacco per Square Kilometer of Total Area—1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 31

TABLE XXIX

PRINCIPAL CENTERS OF TOBACCO PRODUCTION IN THE RECÔNCAVO AND IN BRAZIL IN 1948

249
311
433

	Area (ha.)	Production (tons)
Southwestern Recôncavo:		
Cruz das Almas (all)	6,850	6,680
Conceição do Almeida (part)	2,000	2,000
São Filipe (part)	500	480
Muritiba (part)	810	500
Total	10,160	9,660
Santo Antônio:		
Santo Antônio (all)	6,200	5,250
Conceição do Almeida (part)	200	400
São Filipe (part)	190	190
Total	6,590	5,840
São Gonçalo (part)	2,000	900
Irará (part)*	2,500	3,000
Total - Principal Centers	21,250	19,400
Total - Recôncavo	21,886	20,191
Total - State of Bahia**	44,248	35,758
Total - State of Minas Gerais**	23,452	13,340
Total - Rio Grande do Sul***	40,236	44,495

*Irará produced a relatively large amount of tobacco for its area, but this was of a stronger and less valuable type of leaf tobacco ("*Feira*").

**Including a large quantity of rope tobacco--*fumo em corda*.

***Principally cigarette tobacco.

Source: *Produção Agrícola: 1948*.

production about 5,800 tons, so that it was somewhat over one-half as important as the Southwestern Recôncavo cluster discussed above.

Two lesser clusters centralize tobacco cultivation north of the Rio Paraguaçu. One is around the *cidade* of São Gonçalo, with about 2,000 hectares and 900 tons of tobacco in 1948. In the Northern Recôncavo, Irará was the center of a less compact concentration, with about 2,500 hectares and 3,000 tons of tobacco in 1948.

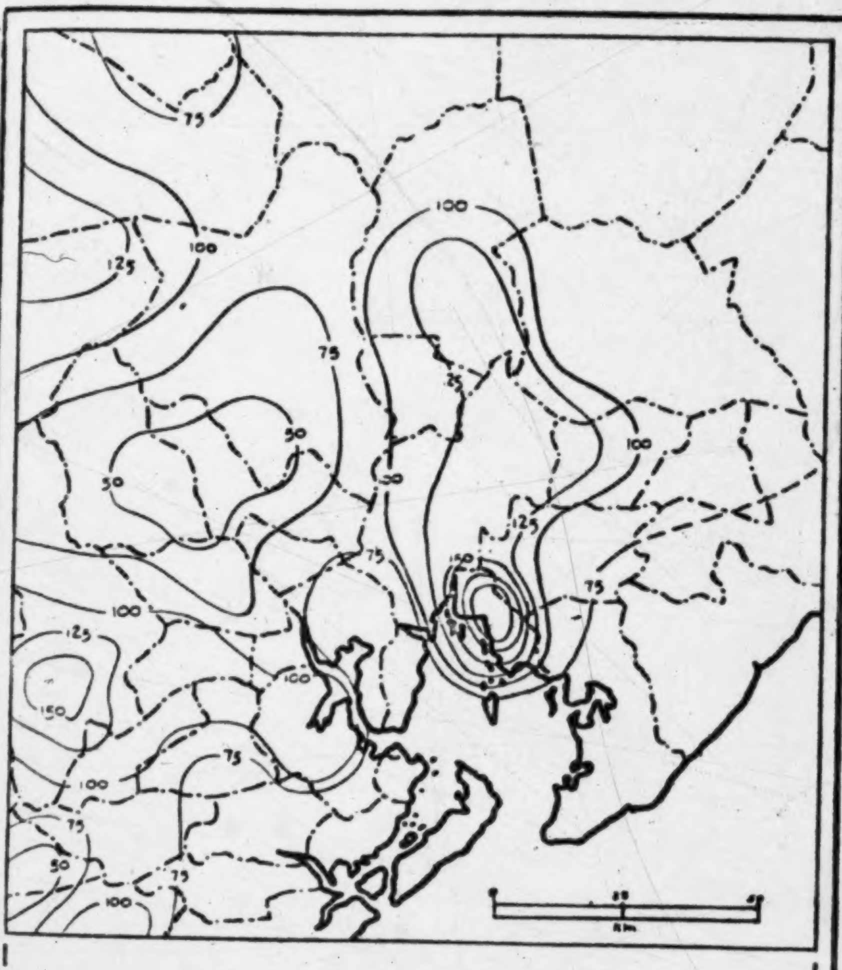
249 134 132 Santo Estêvão. The third grade—"*Feira*"—is grown on the humid edge of the sandy Tertiary uplands. This suggests that it is soil which is the immediate control of quality, although precipitation is the over-all factor. Although the southern part of the zone of Tertiary soils is more humid than the crystalline zone peripheral to the Recôncavo, the tobacco of the former--"Feira"—is less valuable than the "*Caatinga*" grade of the latter. The drier Tertiary zone produces only *fumo em corda* but the even drier crystalline zone, stretching west to the Chapada Diamantina, manages to produce the cheap but salable "*Sertão*" leaf. Thus in every case the crystalline soils, with equal or even less precipitation than the Tertiary zone, produce a better grade of leaf tobacco.

249 433 In 1948 the yields of the main zones of tobacco cultivation were from 750 to 1,000 kilograms per hectare (Map 33). Yields were higher in the Central Recôncavo, where there is only trivial production of low quality leaf. Yields were also higher in isolated sections of the "*Sertão*" and "*Caatinga*" grade zones to the west.[17] The mean yield of the Recôncavo, 840 kilograms per hectare, was slightly above the 808 kilograms per hectare of the state of Bahia as a whole. This yield compares very favorably with the yield of Cuba, 640 kilograms per hectare, and Indonesia, 530 to 650 kilograms per hectare on Estates, but is lower than that of Mexico, 1,010, Canada, 1,360, or the United States, 1,400.[18]

[241] The production of most of the chief crops of the Recôncavo is somewhat stabilized by steady demand for food--in the case of manioc, corn, and beans—or by government control—in the case of sugar cane. In contrast, tobacco is a highly speculative and mobile crop. It is produced primarily by small cultivators in anticipation of a combination

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 172]

*102
249
433


75
100
125
75
50
50
100
25
100
125
150
75
75
100
125
150
100
75
100
75
50
75
100
0
20
40
Km

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Yield of Tobacco--1948

Tons of Kilograms per Hectare

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 33

249
433

of high yield and high prices. Lack of capital or, as a result of a low price during the preceding year, lack of incentive may cause planted area to fall very low. Optimism generated by the high price of the preceding year or a relatively favorable source of credit may cause planted area to be increased very strongly. Thus the curve of planted area plunges up and down, usually lagging a year or so behind prices, as the small cultivator and his creditor, the merchant-tobacco buyer, vainly pursue a "killing."[19]

Planted area is not the only major variable involved in tobacco cultivation. Tobacco, in distinction to sugar cane, is grown along the drier margins of the Recôncavo on "poor" or porous soils. The variations of precipitation during both the growing and the curing season, in combination with the irregularities of cultivation, have resulted in an ever-changing level of production. In addition, tobacco production like many speculative enterprises—and this is very characteristic of Brazil—is highly mobile. During the decade 1942 to 1951 the production of some municípios waxed and waned, while others burst like novas into large scale cultivation and then rapidly faded away.[20]

In the decade 1942 to 1951 the production in Crus das Almas rose steadily to a peak in 1946 and then fell away to one-quarter of the maximum. Santo Antônio grew more rapidly, reached its peak in the same year, and then slowly declined to 50 per cent of the peak. Conceição do Almeida entered the decade strong, slumped in 1946, and then stabilized at the old level of production. São Gonçalo was stabilized from 1941 to 1946, dropped 90 per cent in 1947, and then rose slowly throughout the rest of the decade. In Irará the peak was 1944, the slump 1950. During this period the production of the state as a whole rose slowly to a 1945 maximum and fell gradually until 1951. It

249 433 is apparent that the production of the Scuthwestern Recôncavo and of Santo Antônio, the pre-eminent concentrations, fell away as a result of a drop in prices which began in 1947 and continued through the end of the decade. As high quality and high-cost producers, these areas were particularly hard hit by the falling price. On the other hand, Irará grows a cheaper leaf, at a lower production cost, and apparently survived the worst effects of the cut in price. The production in this município declined more slowly and then, in 1950, fell sharply as a result of the sêca (drought) which began in that year.

A comparison of the data for a longer period indicates that although production of the state of Bahia in 1946-1950 was about equal to that of 1931-1936, the cultivated area rose by about 25 per cent. Yields fell steadily during this period; the 900 to 1,000 kilograms per hectare of the early 30's had declined to 750 to 850 kilograms per hectare in the late 40's. The decline in yield, if not centered in the Recôncavo, was at least characteristic of the development of the region. The basic factor in the falling yields almost certainly was the exhaustion of the soil. In addition, manure, always costly, became
249 244 433 increasingly expensive and scarce. Tobacco, as has been indicated, is grown in conjunction with manioc under a land rotation system. The increasing demand for subsistence crops, particularly manioc, for the expanding population has put a continuously greater strain on the soil.
[231] At the same time, the expansion of the cultivated area has driven out most of the livestock enterprises, increasing the cost of manure and putting it beyond the reach of many cultivators. As yields began to fall it became necessary to increase the planted area in tobacco and in subsistence crops to compensate the loss. Year by year the fallow period has been progressively shortened as the tobacco-manioc system

249 244 433 has made increasingly greater demands upon the land, at least during the decades between 1930 and 1950. In some areas, such as Cruz das Almas, the mean fallow period seems to have been reduced to a minimum of one or two years during the late 1940's. As the result of these developments, the *município* seems to be faced with the necessity of either a decrease in production or a radical reorganization of the system of cultivation.[21]

249 241 433 However, tobacco is to Cruz das Almas or São Gonçalo what sugar cane is to the Central Recôncavo—a way of life. Agriculture without tobacco is both economically and culturally distressing to the cultivator of the Southwestern Recôncavo. Unlike the sugar cane planter, the [178] agriculturalists of the tobacco zone cultivate crops other than the chief commercial product, but as a cash crop they are very reluctant to accept any substitute. Habit is a very great force in the agriculture of all parts of the Recôncavo.

249 433 A result of the traditional and speculative orientation of the people of the tobacco zone is the extreme importance of tobacco—a commercial non-food crop—throughout the zone. In 1948, six *municípios* of the Recôncavo cultivated more tobacco than any other crop, and in five others it was second in importance. In only two *municípios*, Itaparica and Salvador, was it lower than fourth in area occupied.

43 433 *Corn*. Traditionally corn (*milho*) is a crop of the *caatinga* (scrub forest), and its greatest relative dominance is found just northwest of the Recôncavo in the *município* of Serrinha. It is, however, grown on a small scale throughout the Recôncavo, and there are at least two areas of intensive production. Corn is overshadowed by other crops, particularly manioc, tobacco, and sugar cane, in all parts of the Recôncavo except the North and the Northwest.

B
BB Like manioc and tobacco, corn is an indigenous crop which was
243 borrowed from the Indians in the early phases of European settlement
311
433 and which became a basic subsistence crop in Brazil. Its cultivation,
like manioc, is a characteristic feature of the agricultural landscape
over an extensive coastal belt from the Amazon to Rio Grande do Sul
and, unlike manioc, beyond into northern Argentina. In Brazil, corn is
cultivated on more land than any other crop, and in most states it is
either the second or third crop in value. In the Recôncavo it is the
fourth ranking crop in area of cultivation, but only the seventh in
BB the total value of production. The cultivation of corn is very closely
[244] associated, areally and functionally, with beans--"succotosh" is a common
crop combination in the Northwestern Recôncavo and the adjoining region.[21]

BB Corn also resembles manioc in the purpose of cultivation; it is
243 primarily a subsistence crop for local consumption, but there are surplus
433 producing areas with a rudimentary commercial corn economy. In those
areas of the Recôncavo where corn is produced in small quantities, it
is almost exclusively a minor subsistence crop which is eaten by the
cultivator and his family, though a few ears or a small sack of shelled
corn may be sold in the market for local consumption. Such semi-subsistence producers are usually small-scale farmers, squatters, or
share-croppers. In the Northern and Northwestern Recôncavo, where
cultivation of corn is more intensive, there are occasional large-scale
corn growers, but the bulk of the area and production in this zone be-
BB
[438] longs to small operators. Even these small producers usually sell
their corn at the market--it is exchanged for the cheaper farinha de
BB mandioca. In the Recôncavo corn is used exclusively as a human food,
[262] and there is no corn-livestock complex.

BB
243 Only three municípios of the Recôncavo, all very large, had over
311
433 500 hectares of corn in 1948 or produced over 500 tons of shelled corn.

243 311 433 The Recôncavo as a whole had 9,679 hectares of corn, with a production of 10,283 tons. Of this, 87 per cent of the area and 84 per cent of the production was in Santo Estêvão, Feira de Santana, and Irarâ (Maps 34, 35, and 36). The area and production of the Recôncavo were about the same as for one adjacent município, Serrinha, which had 8,500 hectares and 11,590 tons of corn in 1948.

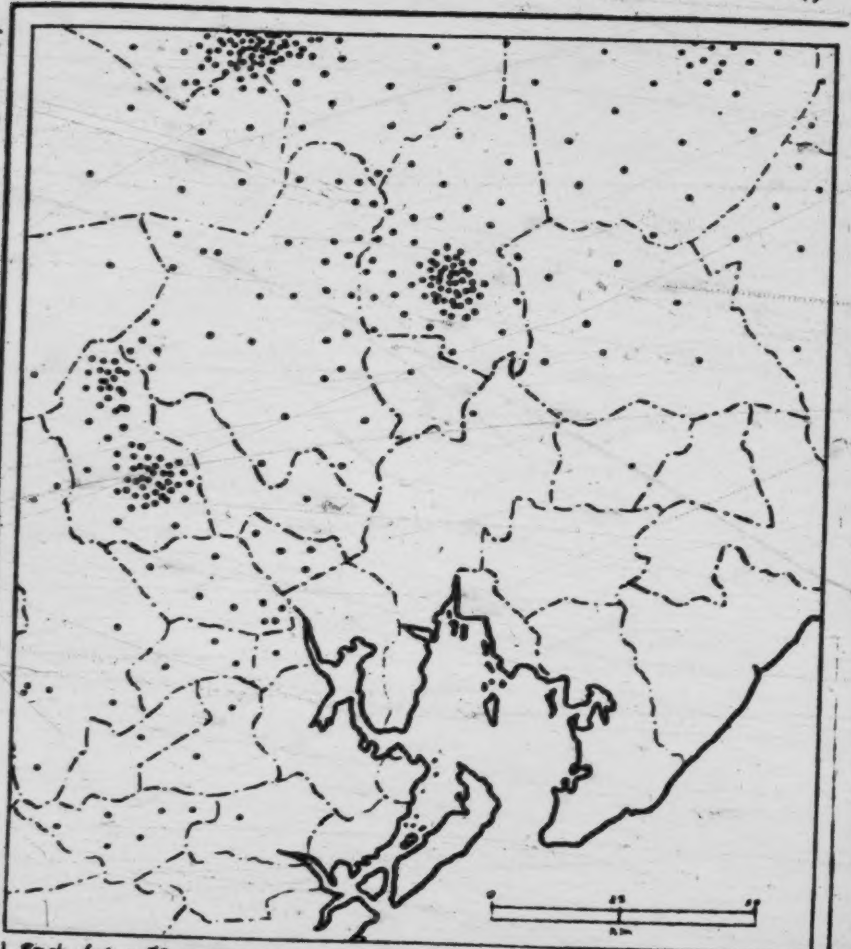
243 311 Most of the corn grown and produced in the Recôncavo comes from two compact concentrations, one around the cidade of Irarâ; the other around the cidade of Santo Estêvão. Elsewhere in the Recôncavo it is grown either on very widely scattered plots or as a "garden" crop.[23]

The concentration of corn production is the result of several physical and economic factors. It is cultivated on the dry margins of the Recôncavo, where only a few restricted areas can produce a crop.
243 [438] (489) Though a commercial product of moderate value, its weight- or bulk-price relationship is not highly favorable to long transportation to market—in contrast to tobacco, which tends to attach itself to even the smallest and most remote semi-subsistence plot, and in contrast to beef,
[491] which in Bahia is moved to market on the hoof. The concentration around Santo Estêvão, which is on the main trunk highway to Feira de Santana, is favorable for the transportation of the crop, and the Irarâ concentration is linked to Feira by a generally passable road.
[251] In the more humid parts of the Recôncavo, corn is restricted not only by its poor competitive position vis-à-vis sugar cane or tobacco, but also by its harvest requirements; it must be harvested and stored in the proper season, while manioc may be harvested as it is needed, a great advantage for a subsistence crop.

243 311 433 Corn, although the second most important subsistence crop of the Recôncavo, occupied in 1948 only 12 per cent of the total cropland.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 182]

*102
243
311
• 433



Each dot = 50 metric tons

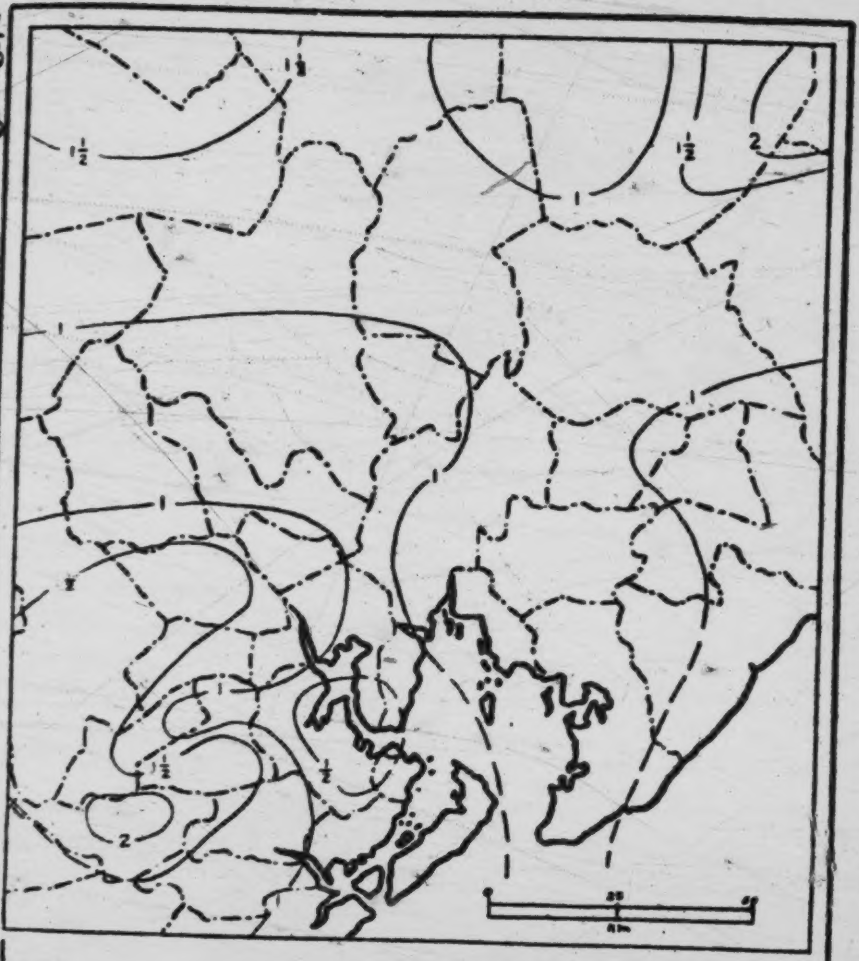
RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Corn--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 26

*102
243
311
● 433


1½
1½
1
1½
2
1
1
1
1
1
2
1
1½
½
2
0
25
50
Km

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Yield of Corn--1948

Tons per Hectare

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 38

243 311 It is primarily a crop of the *sertão* of northeastern Bahia, but it has intruded upon the northern and western perimeter of the Recôncavo (Map 37). In three *municípios*--Irará, Feira de Santana, and Santo Estêvão--corn is the most extensively cultivated crop. Conversely, it is rarely seen in the humid lowlands and in the Southwestern Recôncavo. In these areas it is found only in very small, widely scattered plantings.

243 433 The mean yield of corn in the Recôncavo was 1.09 tons per hectare, compared to 1.27 for Brazil, 2.46 for the United States, 1.0 for the Belgian Congo, and .81 for Java and Madura. The accompanying map of corn yields shows a somewhat random pattern within the Recôncavo, since the total area and production were very small and local circumstances of cultivation highly variable (Map 38). However, the area of main production northwest of the Recôncavo had a relatively high yield—over
243 244 1.5 tons per hectare. In this area, corn, with beans, pre-empts the areas with the most productive soils and the greatest precipitation.

244 *Beans*. *Feijão*, or the common field bean (*Phaseolus vulgaris*), like manioc, tobacco, and corn, is an indigenous domesticate which became an important subsistence crop during the colonial period. Like corn, beans are more specifically associated with the dry *sertão* than
[262] with the Recôncavo. Most of the beans grown in Bahia are the black
[252] variety, *feijão preto*; the beans are dried and used with *charque* (dried beef) in a soup which is one of the basic subsistence foods of the Northeast. Beans of this and other similar varieties of the same species are grown throughout Brazil.

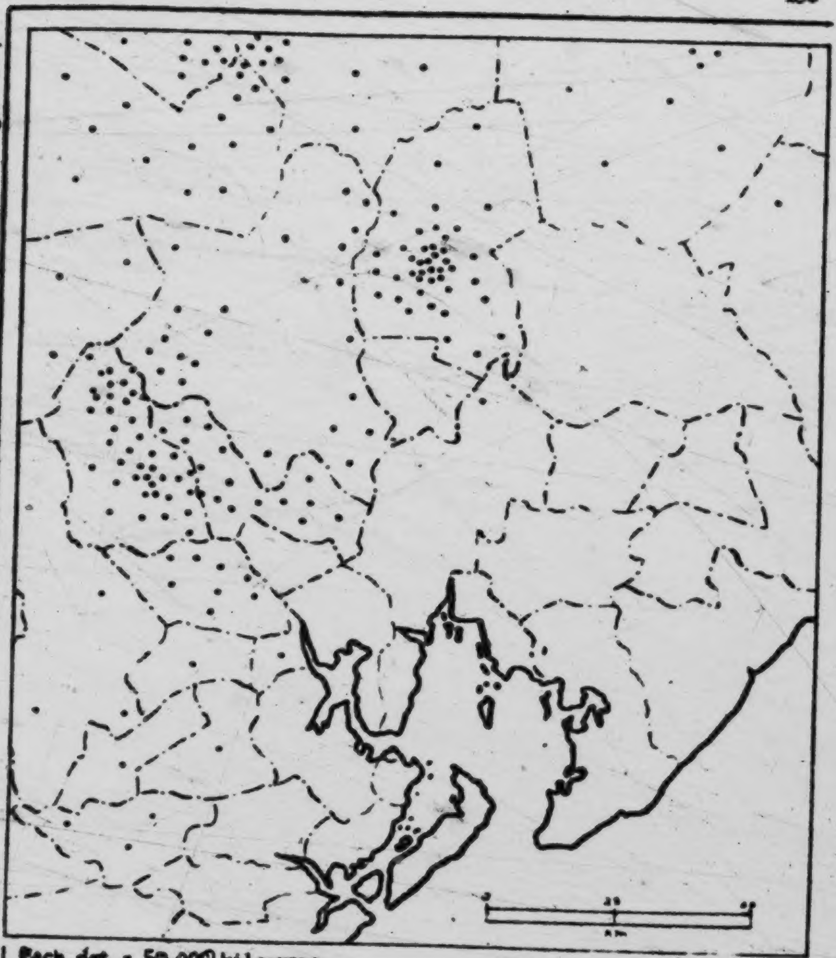
244 433 In area and in quantity of production, beans are slightly less important than corn in the Recôncavo, but the value of the bean crop is almost double that of corn. The patterns of distribution of these two crops are almost identical, and the physical and cultural factors

244 433 [311] involved are very similar (Maps 39, 40, and 41). In 1948 beans occupied 9 per cent of the total cropland of the Recôncavo. While the area of the greatest dominance of corn lies north of the Recôncavo, beans had the greatest relative importance in the west, in the município of Ipirá (Map 42). The reason for this minor difference in concentration is not apparent.

244 311 433 The yield pattern as revealed by the 1948 data is very distinctive (Map 43). Relatively high yields were closely associated with the forest and scrub-forest transition from Santo Antônio in the south to Irará in the north, where, however, less than 10 per cent of the cropland was in beans. In Muritiba, Castro Alves, and Santo Antônio, where joint corn-bean cultivation is not always the rule, yields of both plants were high. In the Northern and Northwestern Recôncavo the yield patterns of the two crops, which are usually intercropped in this area, were very different. No explanation for these differences was found. The mean yield of beans in the Recôncavo in 1948 was 988 kilograms per hectare, higher than the 690 kilograms per hectare of Brazil, the 540 kilograms per hectare of French Equatorial Africa, or the 200 kilograms per hectare of India, but much lower than the 1,220 kilograms per hectare yield in the United States.

249 Sugar Cane. Much of the history and a good deal of the cultural geography of the Recôncavo could be written in terms of sugar cane [433] [178] cultivation. The colony of Bahia was organized around the cultivation of cane, and sugar was the mainstay of the colonial commercial economy until the last half of the nineteenth century. During the colonial period the cultivation of sugar cane acquired a prestige which it has never lost, despite the fact that it is no longer the most valuable nor, it seems likely, the most profitable crop of the Recôncavo.

*102
244
311
● 433



Each dot - 50,000 kilograms

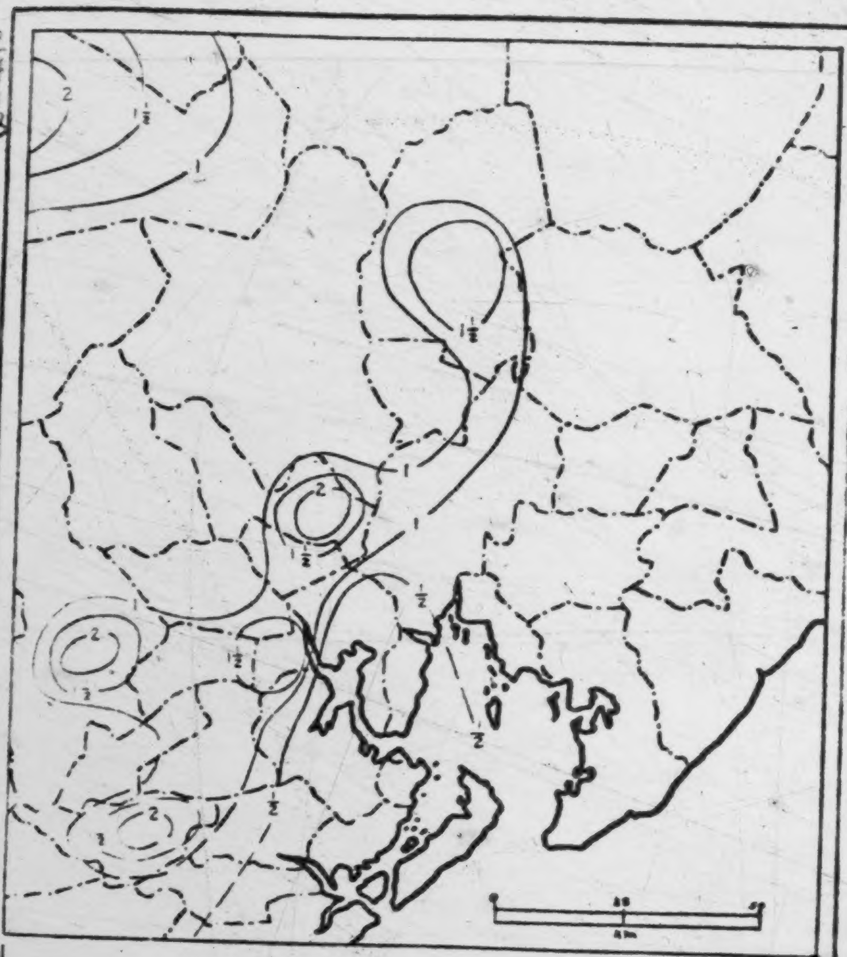
RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Beans--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 41

*102
244
311
• 433



RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Yield of Beans--1948

Tons per Hectare

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 43

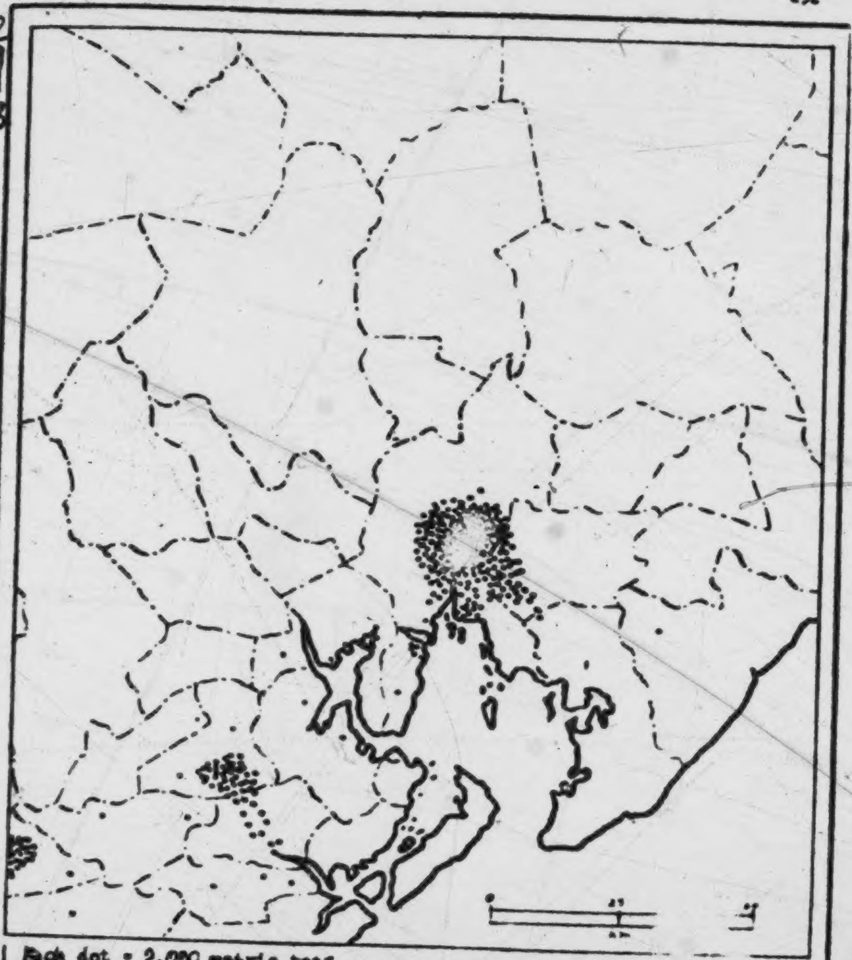
249 same planting are common--then the field is rested for a year and replanted to cane.[24]

249 311 Sugar cane is encountered in all parts of the Recôncavo, but it is produced commercially only in three very restricted and closely defined areas. Of the 11,695 hectares of sugar cane in the Recôncavo in 1948, over 6,000 hectares were in Santo Amaro and 650 hectares and 2,400 hectares, respectively, in adjacent São Francisco and São Sebastião (Map 44). The remaining one-third of the total sugar cane area was largely in São Filipe, 650 hectares, and Cachoeira, 530 hectares. The association between sugar cane cultivation and the Cretaceous soils is [134] very close. Within the Central Recôncavo, cane is grown only on the Cretaceous massapê, salão, and arêia soils; although there are occasional outliers of Tertiary sands, no cane was observed on these soils in the course of field investigation. Cane cultivation in São Filipe is associated with similar heavy soils--the so-called crystalline massapê. [433] In 1948 the Recôncavo produced 670,626 tons of cane, 39 per cent of the total of the state, but only 2 per cent of Brazil's production. Eighty-two per cent of the cane of the Recôncavo was produced in the Central Recôncavo sugar cane zone of Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião (Map 45).

Because sugar cane cultivation is so highly concentrated, the mean value of 15 per cent of the total cropland of the Recôncavo in sugar cane is somewhat misleading. What is significant is that an estimated 90 per cent of the cropland--excluding fallow land--on the Cretaceous coastal lowland at the head of the Bay was planted to cane in 1948 (Map 46). A similar, though smaller, monocultural zone lay at the head of the Bacia do Iguape in the município of Cachoeira. In the minor sugar cane area of São Filipe, cane production was less concentrated. There was also scattered cane cultivation on the lowlands

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 194]

*102
249
311
● 433



Each dot = 2,000 metric tons

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Sugar Cane--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 15

249 311 and Intermediate Hills between and around these zones, but usually on an exceedingly small scale.

249 311 433 The yields calculated for 1948 were as follows:

Santo Amaro	65.7 tons per hectare
São Francisco	80.0 " " "
São Sebastião	41.2 " " "
Cachoeira	37.0 " " "
São Filipe	50.0 " " "

These may be compared with 38.7 tons per hectare for Brazil as a whole, 35.0 tons per hectare for Cuba, and 89.3 tons per hectare for Java and 249 433 134 257 Madura for the same year. The relatively low yields of Cachoeira and São Filipe are to be explained, at least in part, by the primitive character of cultivation and processing in these more remote areas. São Sebastião is a sort of frontier zone into which the big sugar mills are expanding their operations at the expense of smaller operators, but the methods of production are still less efficient than in the main production area, and the soils are sandier and less fertile. In Santo Amaro, yields are higher on account of generally better soils and techniques, but the demands of the large usinas require intensive and continuous cultivation on even the poorer soils. On the other hand, the less intensive cultivation in São Francisco, where the mills are smaller, allows a freer selection of soils, so that the yields of this area are the highest in the Recôncavo.

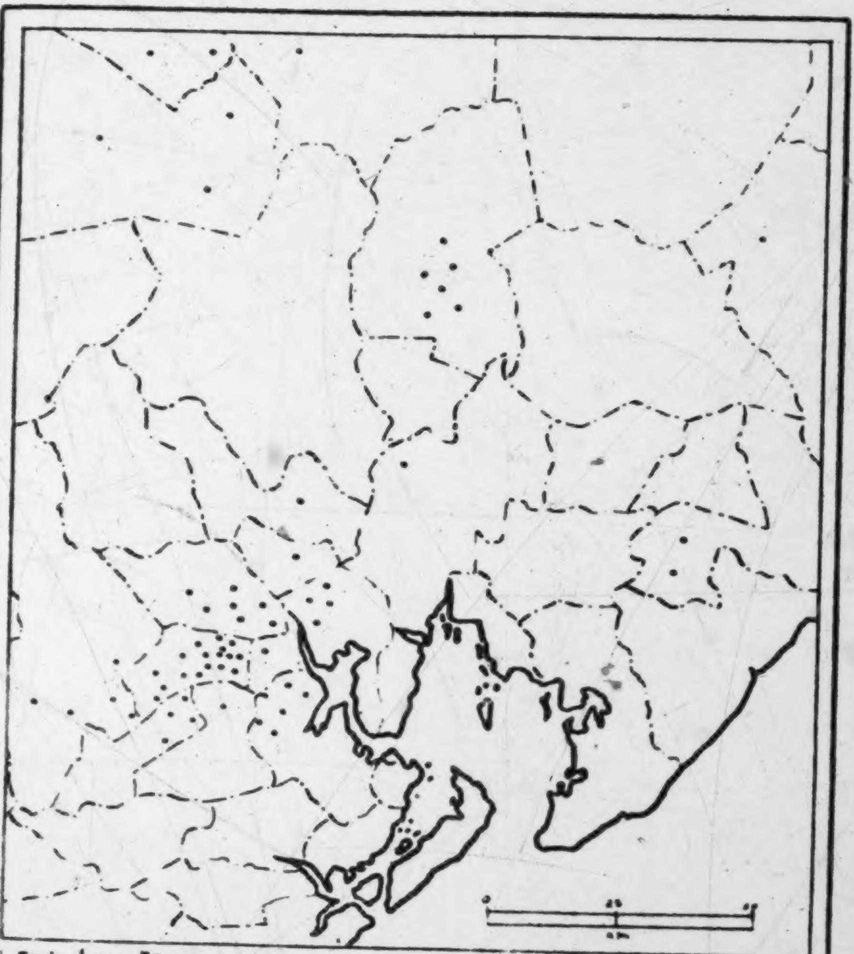
244 311 Sweet Potatoes and Peanuts. Two other American domesticates are grown in the Recôncavo, though on a small scale--peanuts and sweet potatoes. Both are cultivated primarily along the forest and scrub forest transition as auxiliary subsistence crops, in conjunction with manioc and tobacco. There are also scattered plots of these crops in most other parts of the Recôncavo. Neither crop occupied over 1 per cent of the total crop land of the region.

BB 244 The total area in sweet potatoes in 1948 was 344 hectares, the
311 total production, 2,565 tons. No single municípío grew more than 100
433 hectares nor produced over 1,000 tons (Maps 47 and 48). In Cachoeira
and Maragogipe, 3 per cent of the total cropland was in sweet potatoes
BB in 1948. The plants are grown on the slopes and in the sandier valley
[438] bottoms of the Intermediate Hills and are sold through the local markets.
On a smaller scale, sweet potatoes are grown as a minor supplementary
crop in the Southwestern Recôncavo. The mean Recôncavo yield was 7.5
tons per hectare, close to the mean Brazilian 1948-1950 yield of 8 tons
per hectare. Sweet potatoes are grown in the Recôncavo both as "garden"
crops for home consumption and as minor commercial crops for local
exchange.

The total area in peanuts in 1948 was 550 hectares; the total production was 876 tons (Maps 49 and 50). There is some small commercial production in Maragogipe and in the Northern Recôncavo; in the former, 6 per cent of the total cropland was in peanuts in 1948, and in the latter, from 2 to 5 per cent. Yields calculated for municípios varied from .3 to 3.5 tons per hectare without discernible pattern. The mean yield was 1.6 tons per hectare, higher than the .97 tons per hectare of Brazil and the .89 tons per hectare of the United States.

BB Bananas. The banana is the sole important subsistence crop of
245 433 the Recôncavo which is of old world origin. Brazil is the world's
B leading producer of bananas, and the main centers of production are
[245] [433] in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Minas Gerais. In the Recôncavo,
bananas are grown primarily for subsistence and local exchange, but
there are a few small commercial growers. Under the existing system
BB [479] of transportation, the long distance shipment of so bulky, heavy,
perishable, and cheap a product is difficult.

*702
244
311
• 433



Each dot = 50 metric tons

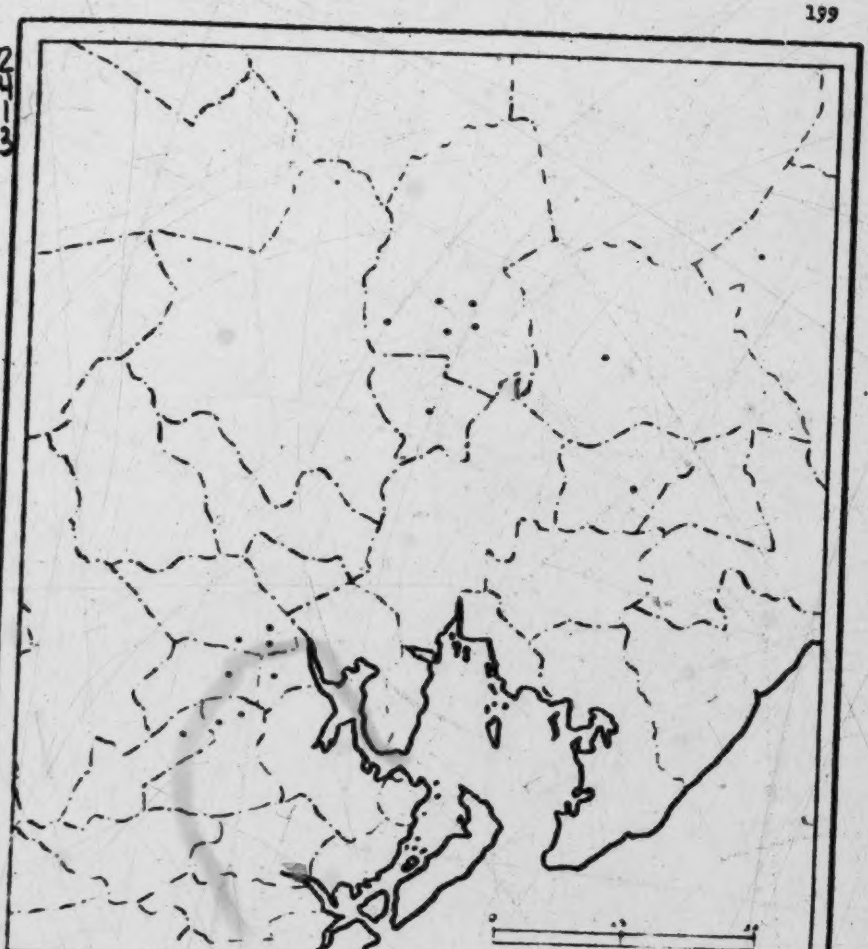
RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Sweet Potatoes—1948

Source of data: Produção Agricola: 1948.

MAP 18

+402
244
311
● 433



Each dot = 50,000 kilograms

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Peanuts--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 50

245 The bananas of the Recôncavo include a number of types—large, medium and small eating varieties, and plantains—which are grown in most sections and which may be encountered in village and urban markets in all seasons. Cultivation is a haphazard enterprise in which the reproduction of bananas frequently is accidental rather than deliberate. Since there is so much semi-spontaneous cultivation concealed in gardens and second growth and thus probably not enumerated and since the spacing of the plants is so variable, area data for bananas in the [311] Recôncavo have little meaning. The official data for 1948 indicated that [433] there were 1,069 hectares planted in the region, producing an estimated 1,859 bunches.[25]

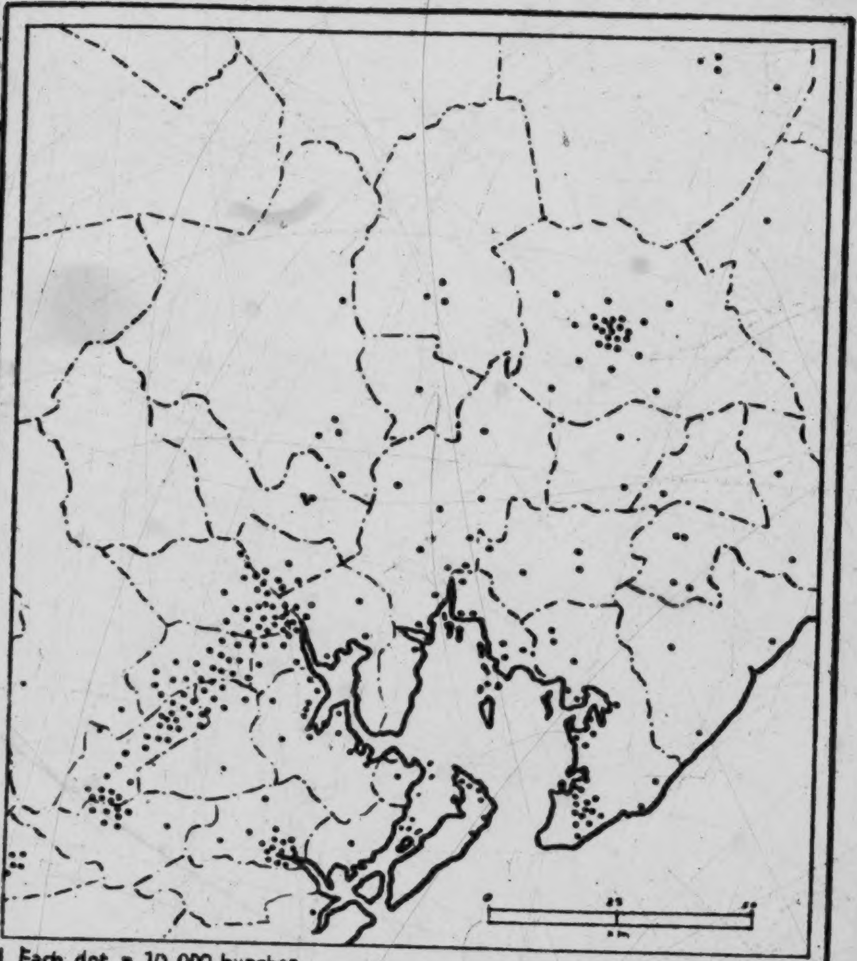
245 311 Banana plants are seen in all settlements of the Recôncavo, and except in the drier caatinga zone of the Northwestern Recôncavo, scattered over the countryside (Map 51). The chief area of production is in the Southwest, where they are grown almost exclusively for the local market (Map 52). However, there is a concentration of banana production [505] [438] around the fringes of Salvador[26] and along the margins of the Bay and the estuary of the Paraguaçu, where sailing craft (saveiros) can conveniently pick up shipments for the large urban market.

245 311 433 In 1948 bananas had their greatest relative importance, as determined by the per cent of the total cropland which they occupied, around and in the city of Salvador, on the island of Itaparica, and around the city of Alagoinhas. The mean yield of bananas in the Recôncavo was 1,730 bunches per hectare, or an estimated 13,840 kilograms per hectare (Map 53)—lower than the 28,900 kilograms per hectare of Brazil, but much higher than the 9,900 kilograms for French West Africa and the 4,400 kilograms for the Philippines.[27]

245 262 It should be emphasized that the banana in Bahia is a relatively cheap and common subsistence food, eaten raw or cooked. This is not to

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 206]

*102
245
311
• 433



Each dot = 10,000 bunches

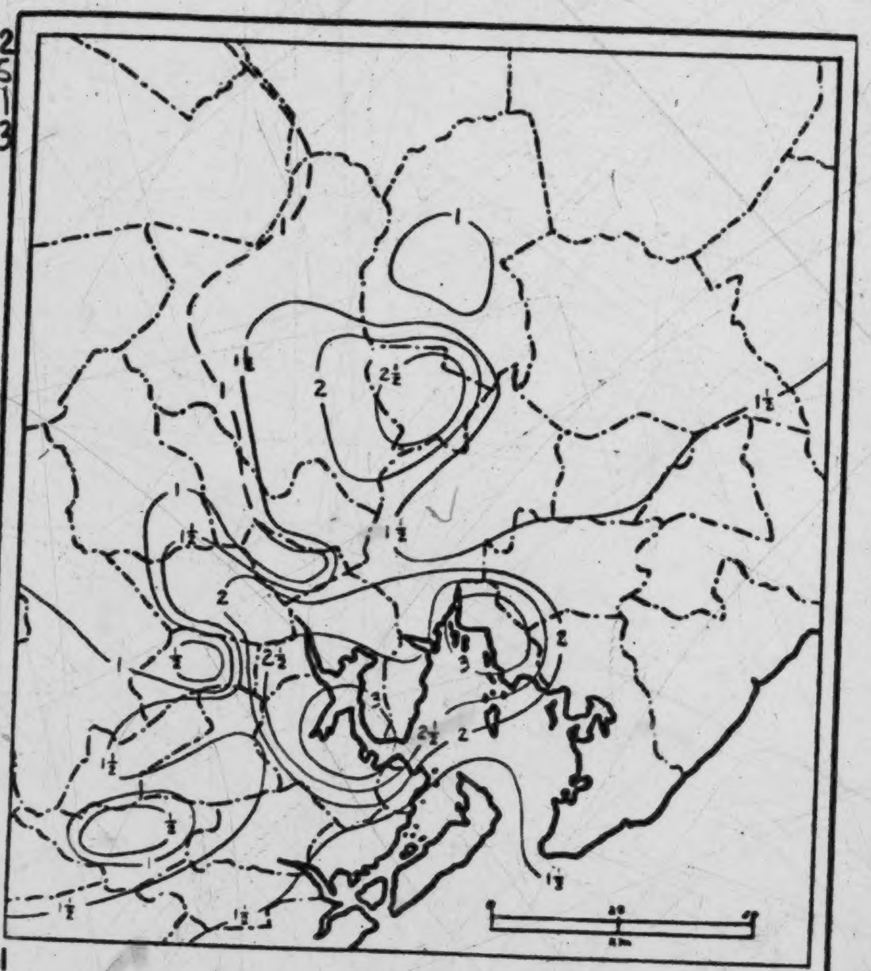
RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Bananas--1948

Source data modified from Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 52

*102
245
311
• 433


1
1½
2
2½
1½
1
1½
2
1½
2½
2
3
3
2½
2
1½
1½
1
1½
1½
1½

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

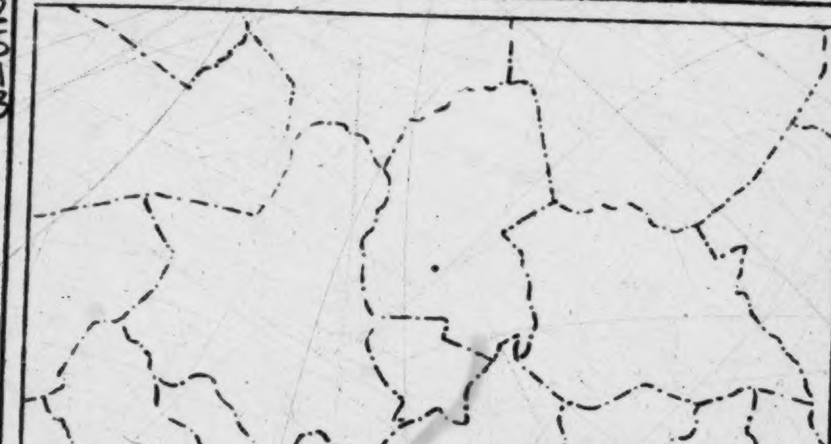
Yield of Bananas--1948

Thousands per Hectare

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 53

*102
245
311
• 433



Each dot = 5,000 kilograms

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Coffee--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 55

BB 245 262 say that it is within the reach of all, for there are many who subsist virtually on farinha de mandioca (manioc flour) and a few beans.

B BB 245 433 Coffee. Coffee is not as venerable a crop in Bahia, or in Brazil, as either sugar cane or tobacco; nevertheless, it is one of the traditional major crops. Bahia is by no means an outstanding producer within Brazil, for the main centers of production are in the Central-South—Paraná, São Paulo, Minas Gerais, and Espírito Santo.

BB 245 433 Although Bahia as a whole has an exportable surplus of coffee, the Recôncavo crop is primarily, if not exclusively, for local consumption. Indeed, if the per capita coffee consumption of the Recôncavo is equal to that of the state, a reasonable assumption, the region as a whole produces only about one-sixth or one-seventh of its coffee needs. Under these circumstances, coffee is used, except in a few areas, in the same município in which it is grown.

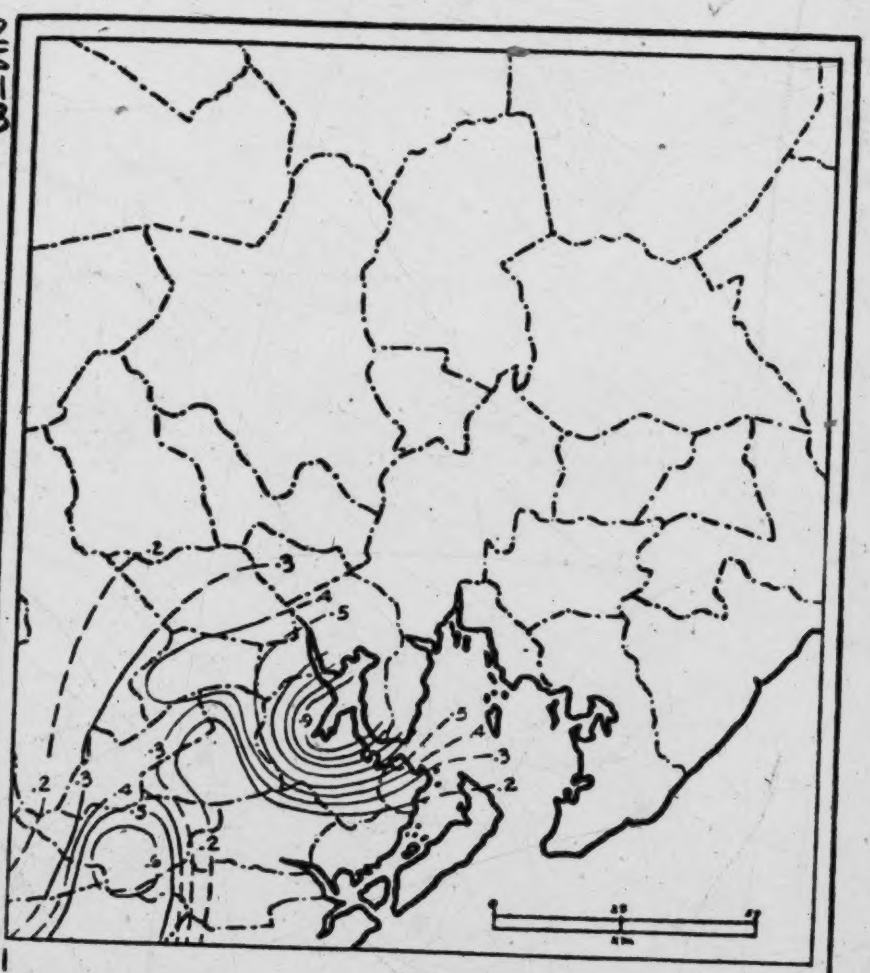
BB 245 311 433 In 1948 only four municípios in the Recôncavo had 400 hectares or more in coffee or produced over 100,000 kilograms of coffee beans (Maps 54 and 55). The chief coffee município was São Filipe, which led in acreage and in production.[28] For all practical purposes, coffee production is limited to the south side of the Rio Paraguaçu.

Coffee production in Bahia is closely associated with the more humid section of the crystalline zone, and especially the area southwest of the Recôncavo where there are low, rugged mountains and consequently areas of greater elevation and precipitation. This "coffee zone" is extended into the Recôncavo along the rougher, more humid edge of the Crystalline Uplands and the adjacent Intermediate Hills, i.e., in São Filipe and São Felix.

BB 245 311 Only 4 per cent of the cropland of the Recôncavo as a whole was in coffee in 1948, but in São Felix and northern São Filipe the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 209]

*102
245
311
• 433


.2
.3
.4
.5
.9
.5
.4
.3
.2
.3
.2
.3
.4
.5
.2
.6
0

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Yield of Coffee--1948

Tons per Hectare

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

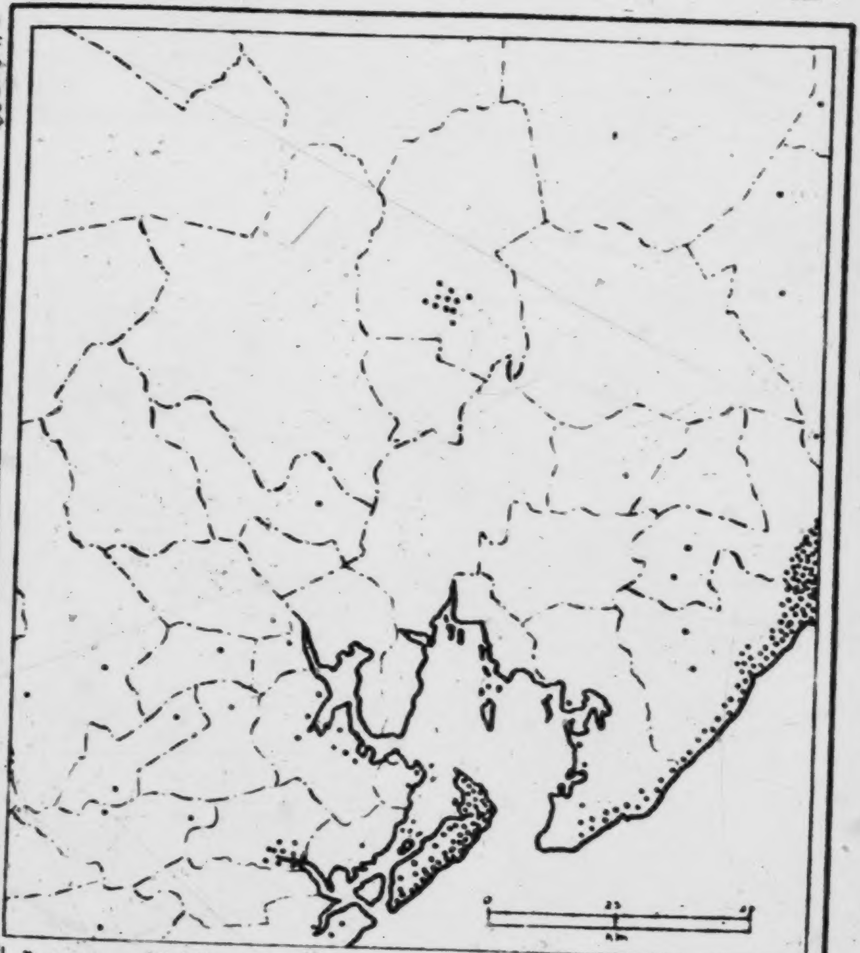
MAP 57

245 311 small coffee groves occupied as much as one-third of the total cultivated area (Map 56). In São Félix coffee was the second ranking crop in area of cultivation, in São Filipe, the third. The coffee cultivation in these municípios is concentrated along the eastern side of the tobacco-manioc area, on the rough Intermediate Hills. The slope-land [134] [132] soils are relatively fertile; yet there is not too much precipitation for the harvesting and drying of the beans.

Although coffee production in the "coffee zone" beyond the Recôncavo is on a moderately large scale, within the Southwestern Recôncavo coffee is planted in very small, irregular plots. The coffee is shade-grown, usually under a remnant of old mata or under jackfruit and similar trees. Except in São Filipe and São Félix, it is generally cultivated as an auxiliary rather than as a principal crop. The harvest is non-selective, and the entire bush is stripped at one time. 245 311 433 The beans produced under this system are of low quality compared with the selected beans of the Spanish-American highlands, but the people of Bahia claim that their coffee has a special flavor. The mean yield of coffee in the Recôncavo in 1948 was about 300 kilograms per hectare, compared to over 400 kilograms per hectare for Brazil. The main centers of production had yields near the mean of 300 kilograms per hectare, except for São Filipe which produced less than 200 kilograms per hectare (Map 57). Yields, as derived from the official data, were highly variable among the minor producers.

245 Coconut. In a sense the coconut is, like coffee, an alien intrusion into the Recôncavo. Although Bahia is by far the leading producer of coconuts in Brazil—they are called côcos da Bahia—the main centers of production are on the coast north and, to a lesser extent, south of the Recôncavo.

*102
245
311
■ 433



Each dot = 50,000 coconuts

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Coconuts--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

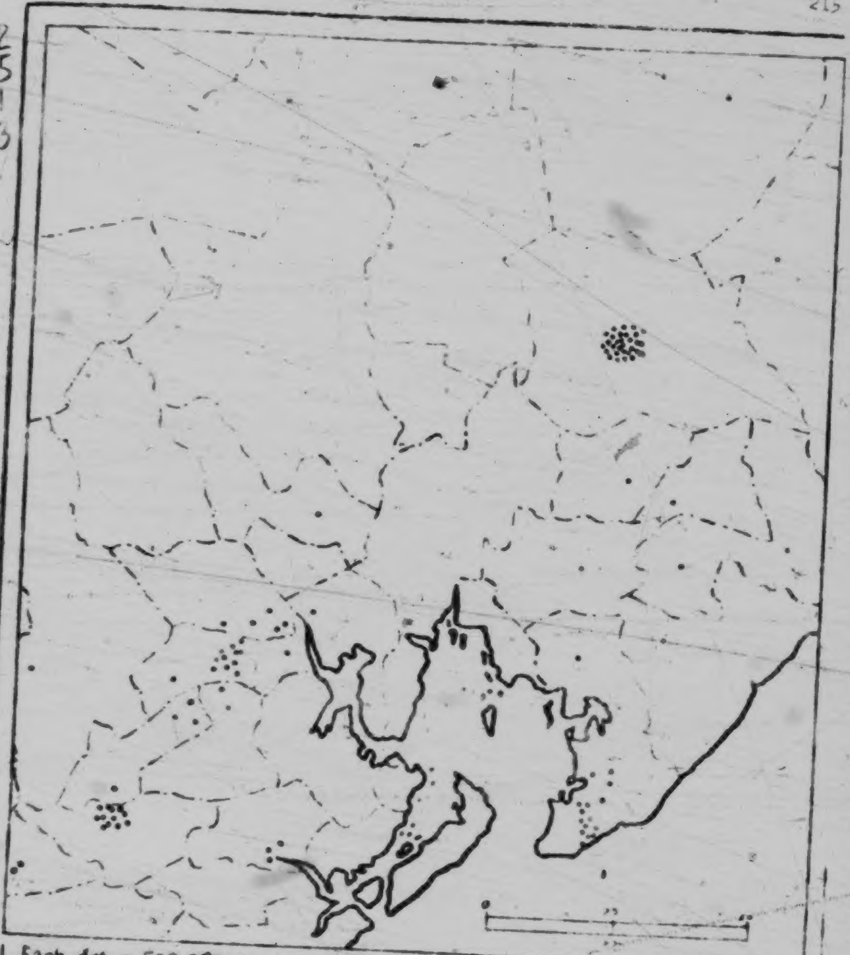
MAP 59

245 311 Within the Recôncavo coconut production is important along the
sandy beach line of the island of Itaparica and along the ocean coast
of Salvador, where coconuts are virtually the only agricultural product
[133] (Maps 58, 59, and 60). The inner shores of the Bay, which rise abruptly
[134] with rocky clay slopes, bear very few coconuts, except in a low-lying
sandy zone along the estuary of the Paraguaçu. Coconuts are produced
245 [423] chiefly on large properties which are frequently owned by urban families.
[464] The plantations are operated with hired labor drawn from the coastal
[438] population. When harvested, the coconuts are sold in the urban markets
[258] of Salvador and other cities and towns. Very little of the Recôncavo
[439] production is converted into oil, and little is exported.

Oranges. The navel orange is a Bahian development, a mutation
[433] of the orange brought from Europe. The main centers of Brazilian production, however, are elsewhere in the country, and cultivation of oranges
within the Recôncavo is primarily for local consumption.

245 Scattered orange trees are a feature of the rural and urban
311 landscape in many areas. In addition to this generalized cultivation,
which frequently is not shown in the official data, there is commercial
production in the environs of several urban centers—Alagoinhas, Santo
Antônio, and to a lesser extent, Salvador (Maps 61 and 62). The
[489] *cidades* of Alagoinhas and Santo Antônio are both markets for part of
[443] the local crop; moreover, both are on the railroads leading to Salvador,
which is the chief market for the entire region. In addition to these
three main concentrations, there are numerous orange groves in the
Southwestern Recôncavo which apparently serve both local and regional
markets, though on a small scale. In general the relative area in
orange groves is not great, yet in 1948 they occupied 10 per cent of
the cropland of Alagoinhas.

*102
245
311
● 433



Each dot = 500,000 fruits

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Oranges--1948

Source of data: Produção Agricola: 1948.

MAP 62

245
438
[471] Oranges, like coconuts, are usually grown on plantations. The capital investment in tree crops is usually too great for small cultivators. Moreover, as a highly perishable crop, oranges require more or less direct marketing, which is frequently beyond the capacity of the small grower. If oranges were marketed by trickling from the small grower through the hands of merchants, buyers, and the like, as is tobacco, they would be spoiled long before reaching the consumer. The small cultivator can market his handful of oranges only in the local market.

241
433 Supplementary Crops. Although the official data show only a very limited distribution of minor supplementary crops, their cultivation is not confined to those municípios where exceptionally conscientious [262] statistical agents have made detailed records. The common vegetables--green beans, onions, garlic, and tomatoes--are cultivated in small quantities in all parts of the Recôncavo and are a traditional part of Bahian dishes. Around the cities and towns there is some specialization [443] in vegetable farming, but there are no major concentrations. The Salvador market is supplied with produce from a broad rural zone which includes [489] most of the Recôncavo. The produce is brought to the city by donkey, truck, or by sailing boat.

The most important of the supplementary commercial crops is [134] pineapple, which is produced on the sandy soils of the Northern, and to a lesser extent, Southwestern Recôncavo. There is very scattered production of grapes, cotton, rice, and white potatoes, but there are no important centers of cultivation of these crops.

245
311 Minor Spontaneous Tree Crops. Mangoes are very common within the houseyards of Salvador and throughout the humid Coastal Plain. In

249 244 The physical setting of the tobacco and manioc region is distinctive
311 in terms of the particular combination of topography, soils, climate,
13 and vegetation which are joined along its crescent axis. The region lies
along the semi-circular edge of the interior upland, overlooking the
Bay and the Coastal Plain. In the south the fields of manioc and tobacco
occupy the upper surfaces of the Crystalline Uplands and the adjacent
Intermediate Hills. In the north, cultivation shifts to the summits and
upper slopes of the Intermediate Hills, although there is some concentration
on the extreme southern edge of the taboleiros. Thus the region
occupies the deep flat-lying residual crystalline soils in the south
but in the Tertiary soil zone to the north follows the slope lands where
there is more rainfall and perhaps better local soils. The close correspondence
of this region with the forest and scrub-forest transition has
been repeatedly emphasized. A traverse across the tobacco-manioc region
anywhere between Conceição do Almeida and Feira de Santana takes one
from rough hills with at least scattered patches of broadleaf evergreen
forest to flat uplands with cactus, thorny brush, and licurí palms.

249 A comparison of the map of population (Map 21) and of the rela-
244 tionship of tobacco and manioc cultivation (Map 75) points up the necessity
433 161 for local sources of basic subsistence products. In the Southwest,
361 where rural populations are relatively dense and where there are a
number of large villages and towns, manioc tends to be cultivated over
a greater area than does tobacco. In the tobacco-manioc region north
of the Rio Paraguaçu, where tobacco is usually the leading crop, the
density of rural population is lower, and there are no towns and only
[438] a few large villages. Thus there is close relationship between the
relative intensity of manioc and the size of the local market.

175 249 The recent historical pattern of agriculture in the tobacco-manioc
244 region can be reconstructed only on a general level. Cachoeira, which

Cachoeira, which
175 formerly included most of the western part of the region, was the center
178
249 of the production of tobacco for use in the slave trade. The growth of
[567] the trade in leaf tobacco in the nineteenth century brought great changes
[439] to the region, for it made tobacco a major commercial product in its own
right, no longer dependent upon the slave trade. Eventually this development gave the region of tobacco production a greater economic importance than the sugar cane region, although it remained subordinate in political and social influence. The development of the new tobacco economy also gave the region a greater superiority over the _sertão_, which could satisfactorily produce _fumo em corda_, but could grow only the poorest grades of _fumo em fôlha_.

174 Probably the tobacco-manioc region supplied manioc as the sub-
244
249 sistence food of the sugar economy, since it is the only nearby area
433 which was a center of manioc production. Perhaps manioc was produced in the sugar cane zone, but in view of the intensity of sugar cane cultivation, this seems doubtful. In any case, the present relative level of manioc production in this crop region probably dates from the nineteenth century development of cigar tobacco production.

249 The second basic crop region of the Recôncavo is the sugar cane
311 monocultural area. It is sub-divided into a major zone, in Santo Amaro, São Sebastião, and São Francisco; a minor zone in Cachoeira; and an outlier in São Filipe. It is estimated that in the first two zones 90 per cent of the cropland was in cane in 1948. In the São Filipe outlier of the sugar cane region the proportion seems to have been lower--perhaps 50 per cent of the cultivated area.

The physical association of the sugar cane region north of the
[13] Rio Paraguaçu and the Bay is relatively simple--a humid and formerly forested undulating plain composed of mixed Cretaceous soils--_rassapê_, _salão_, and _areia_. In São Filipe the land is rougher, but the sugar cane is grown upon heavy soils similar to the Cretaceous series.

245 [311] Most coconuts are grown on moderate-sized plantations along the beaches, in sands, or occasionally in sandy loams. North of Salvador they are grown on dunes and beaches and, back from the sea, in sandy stream valleys where the supply of ground water is generous. There seems to be little selection in choosing coconuts for reproduction. Usually the nuts are planted eight meters or so apart, with a pile of organic trash over and around the nut to provide some additional fertility and to hold the moisture necessary for germination. The sprout must be protected from foraging animals, but once growth is well started, the tree receives little attention and no fertilization.

[433] Yields are moderate to low, from 15 to 40 per tree. Apparently the yields per tree are substantially higher (double) in the Bay area--Itaparica and Camassari--than in the area farther north--Mata de São João and Esplanada. [443] In the Bay area the nuts are usually sold in the markets of Salvador without processing.

241 178 Conclusion. The basic determinant of cultivation practices in the Recôncavo is custom. This is probably less true of the cultivation of sugar than of other crops, but the weight of tradition is heavy upon all agricultural enterprises. [454] It may be said that many relatively primitive agricultural practices survive because of ignorance of newer techniques and because of a lack of capital for investment in new tools, in machinery, in better seed, and in permanent land improvement. The importance of these factors in limiting change in Recôncavo agriculture, particularly as general factors operating indirectly upon individual cultivators and individual farms is not to be denied.

However, when the individual cultivator--sugar planter or tobacco share-cropper--is given an opportunity, in the form of new techniques and the necessary capital, to change and improve his operations and

CHAPTER VII

ANIMAL INDUSTRY

BB
231
433
BB
[435]

Although the Recôncavo is primarily a subsistence and commercial crop region, livestock play a significant role in the agricultural economy as beasts of burden and as a source of animal products. In 1948 there were about 800,000 to 850,000 livestock—cattle, sheep, goats, horses, asses, and mules—in the region, and the value of animal production was about Cr.$60,000,000.[1] Thus animals accounted for about 17 per cent of the total value of all agricultural products of the Recôncavo. About one quarter of the livestock were work animals essential to the operation of the agricultural economy--oxen, horses, asses, and mules.[2]

BB
NB
231
233
442
443

The livestock industry of the Recôncavo is closely associated with the extensive livestock ranching economy of the Brazilian northeastern interior. In Bahia, as in most parts of Brazil, the sertão of the interior is a source region of livestock. The animals are driven from the sertão to the coastal nuclei of dense settlement and sold in the cattle market—in the Recôncavo, at the market of Feira de Santana. A portion of the cattle are slaughtered immediately to provide food for the large agricultural population, but a substantial number of cattle and the horses, asses, and mules are retained as work animals. The working cattle—oxen--are eventually slaughtered.

BB
231

Certain outlying parts of the Recôncavo share with the sertão in the role of producing livestock for the coastal market zone. Other areas, especially around Feira de Santana, function as fattening zones in which the cattle recuperate after the long drives from the interior.

231 The production of asses, mules, and horses is concentrated outside the Recôncavo. Apparently most of the work animals used in the Recôncavo-oxen as well as asses, mules, and horses--were born on the *Sertão* and were the products of the same ranches which produce beef animals.

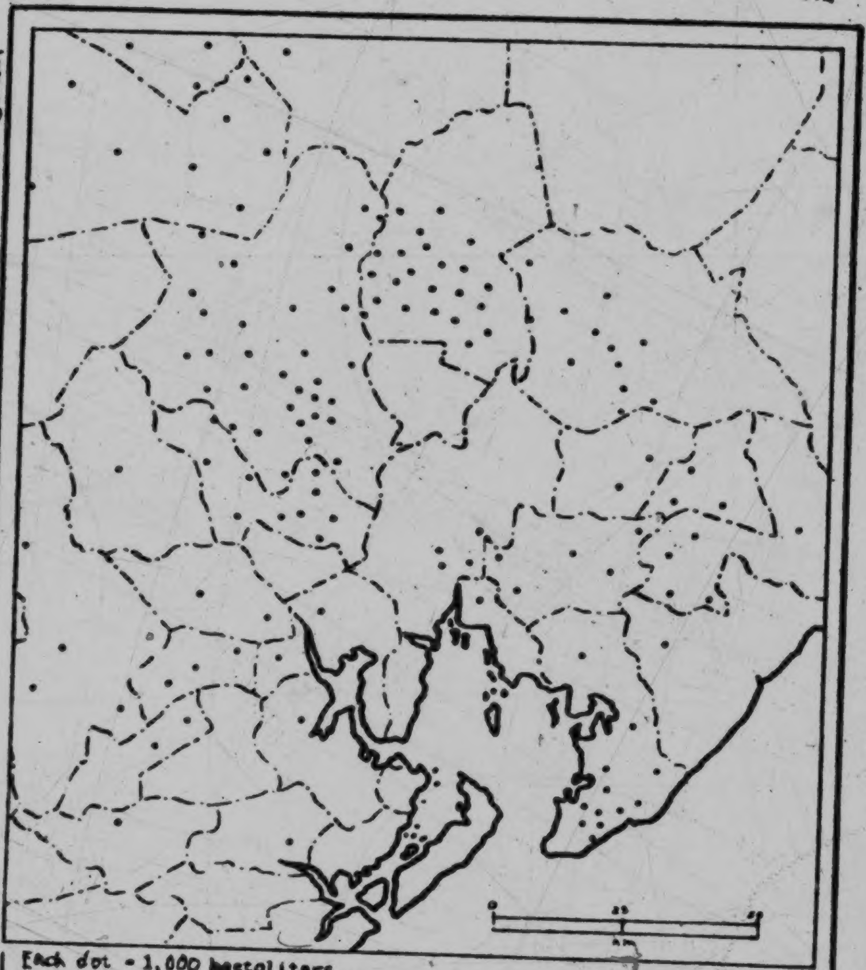
In distinction to these larger animals, swine are produced in large number within the Recôncavo. Moreover, they are almost exclusively the products of small enterprises--pigs are raised in ones and twos by small farmers. They eat the household waste and root in the abandoned [443] fields and the second growth. When they are mature or when the need for cash is pressing, they are sold in the local market, either alive or slaughtered.

Most of the livestock of the Recôncavo are descendent from animals introduced into the Northeast during colonial times. In general [232] there has been little deliberate selection of strains--those animals which have survived disease, insect pests, prolonged semi-starvation, and casual abuse have conferred their characteristics upon the present generation. Thus, most of the livestock are scrubby and inbred, inefficient producers of meat, milk, or energy.

Cattle. The total cattle population of the Recôncavo was 395,000 head in 1948, and the number was still growing. There were [433] almost three times as many cattle in the region as swine, the next most numerous animal, and the value of cattle production far exceeded that of other livestock.

Almost all of the cattle of the Recôncavo are of the unspecialized and ubiquitous Indo-Brazilian strain--rangy animals with long horns and a moderate hump, hardy and strong but not producers of large quantities of either meat or milk. Oxen of the same breed are important in [234] the sugar zone and in Feira de Santana, and both beef and milk cattle

*102
234
• 433



Each dot - 1,000 hectoliters

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Milk Production--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1950. Censos Econômicos Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 80

233 lower intensity of crop cultivation beyond the Recôncavo gives livestock greater relative importance around the periphery.

Cattle were the most numerous of the major livestock in the Recôncavo in 1948, except in four municípios--Cruz das Almas, Conceição do Almeida, São Filipe, and Itaparica, where there were more swine. Cattle were also the most numerous livestock in all municípios bordering the Recôncavo on the east and north and in Castro Alves on the west.

233 433 Apparently the total cattle population in the Recôncavo is increasing rapidly. In 1940 there were only 250,000 cattle in the Recôncavo; in 1948, 394,990. It is inferred from both the state livestock data for 1952[5] and from field observation that this growth continued through 1953, though probably at a more moderate rate. Unfortunately, a comparison of the total cattle population of most of the municípios in 1940 with the number in 1948 does not provide a clear basis for generalizations which can be checked against the situation as [128] observed in the field. Either many of the data are in error, or the changes in cattle population were often unrelated to the general pattern of agricultural development in many municípios. Some of the changes indicated by the data can be accepted without too much question--the growth of the cattle population of Feira de Santana, 206 per cent, is a concomitant, it seems likely, of the general increase in cattle population in Bahia. It is possible that the contemporary growth of the city of Salvador and the improved transportation system have produced a precipitous decline in the cattle population in the sub-urban area and an increase in the tributary area beyond--Camassari, Mata de São João, and Pojuca. The population growth of the cidade of Alagoinhas apparently has resulted in a local displacement of cattle fazendas but in a peripheral expansion of livestock production. The decline

233
433 of Cachoeira as a regional center could account for some decline in its cattle population. On the other hand, the almost four-fold increase in cattle in São Francisco, more than two-fold increase in Itaparica, and almost two-fold increase in Jaguaripe, indicated by the data, are not credible in view of the general agricultural situation. A moderate increase in the cattle population of these areas, to serve the growing Salvador market, is reasonable enough, but not such an astronomical expansion.

231
433 Swine. Although much less numerous than cattle—there were 135,000 swine in the Recôncavo in 1948—pigs are similary ubiquitous. These animals are particularly important in Feira de Santana and Irará, in the Southwestern Recôncavo, and on the island of Itaparica (Map 81). In the Feira de Santana-Irará area swine were much less numerous than cattle, but in the Southwestern Recôncavo and on Itaparica they were the most common livestock animal. Pigs were also the most numerous livestock in adjoining Nazaré, Aratuípe, and Jaguaripe.

The swine population of the Recôncavo is almost surely increasing. This increase is strongly indicated by the evident general agricultural development of the Southwestern Recôncavo, the main center of swine production. A comparison of the 1940 and the 1948 data shows an increase which is in excess of the probable errors of the data. The pattern of change within the Recôncavo shown by the 1940 and 1948 data is irrational for many municípios, although the strong increases shown for the Southwestern Recôncavo and for Feira de Santana are reasonable in view of the observable development of these areas.

231
[472] In the cattle industry, big enterprises are dominant, but swine are produced almost exclusively by small holders, renters, and sharecroppers, each with two or three pigs. The swine are tough, thick-hided

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 279]

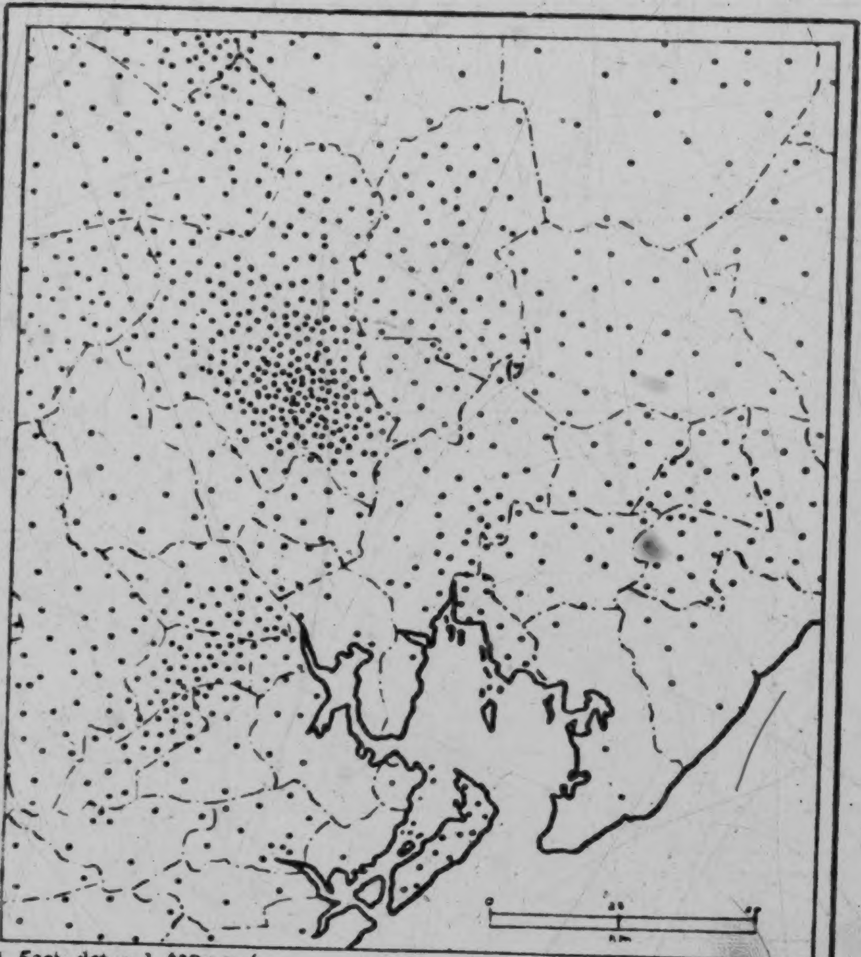
231 [442] animals, rangy and thin, which can and do exist on what they can forage in the second growth or whatever table waste is available. They are marketed one or two at a time in the local markets or are purchased by local buyers who transport a load of pigs into Salvador by truck or sailing boat (saveiro).

231 433 Sheep and Goats. Neither sheep nor goats are characteristic animals of the Recôncavo, but they are found in small numbers in several of its municípios. In 1948 there were about 80,000 sheep and 40,000 goats in the region. Almost all of these animals were low-grade but hardy local varieties. Goats are most numerous on the western sertão, but they are found in moderate numbers along the western edge of the Recôncavo (Map 82). The distribution of sheep is similar, but more uneven, and there is a conspicuous concentration around Feira de Santana (Map 83).

Neither animal ranks very high in the total livestock population of any Recôncavo município. Beyond the northern Recôncavo, from Conceição do Coite to Esplanada, sheep are the most numerous or second most numerous of all animals. In the west, goats are more important--these are the most numerous of all animals in Riachão do Jacuípe and are as numerous as cattle in Ipirá. Apparently the number of both animals is growing. Goats are increasing most rapidly, especially within the Recôncavo. The number of sheep is increasing slowly and

231 233 very irregularly. In the dry marginal zone of the Recôncavo, sheep and goats are produced on large fazendas in much the same manner as cattle. This is also true for the sheep around Feira de Santana. In many areas, however, small holders occasionally run a few goats and, less frequently, sheep in the second-growth.

x
102
231
433



Each dot = 1,000 head

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Total Animals Produced for Animal Products--1948

(Non-work Animals)

MAP 84

BB
231
438 Feira de Santana. From "Feira" the livestock are distributed to the Recôncavo to be used as beasts of burden, as food, or for both.

BB
231 The livestock population of the Recôncavo, as well as the livestock market, is centralized within the município of Feira de Santana.
● [433] In part this concentration reflects the relatively great demand for beef in Salvador, so that at any one time the number of livestock passing through Feira de Santana must be great. The same concentration is evident for work animals. This suggests that the mortality of work animals in the Recôncavo must be very high. There is no data to substantiate this hypothesis, but the emaciated appearance, poor diet, and calloused treatment of beasts of burden in the Recôncavo suggest that it is highly probable.

BB
231
241
433 The concentrations of livestock in the sugar cane and tobacco-manioc regions contribute significantly to the general agricultural importance of these areas. The differences in the character of the livestock populations reflect in a large measure the different requirements of the crop cultivation systems of the two regions.

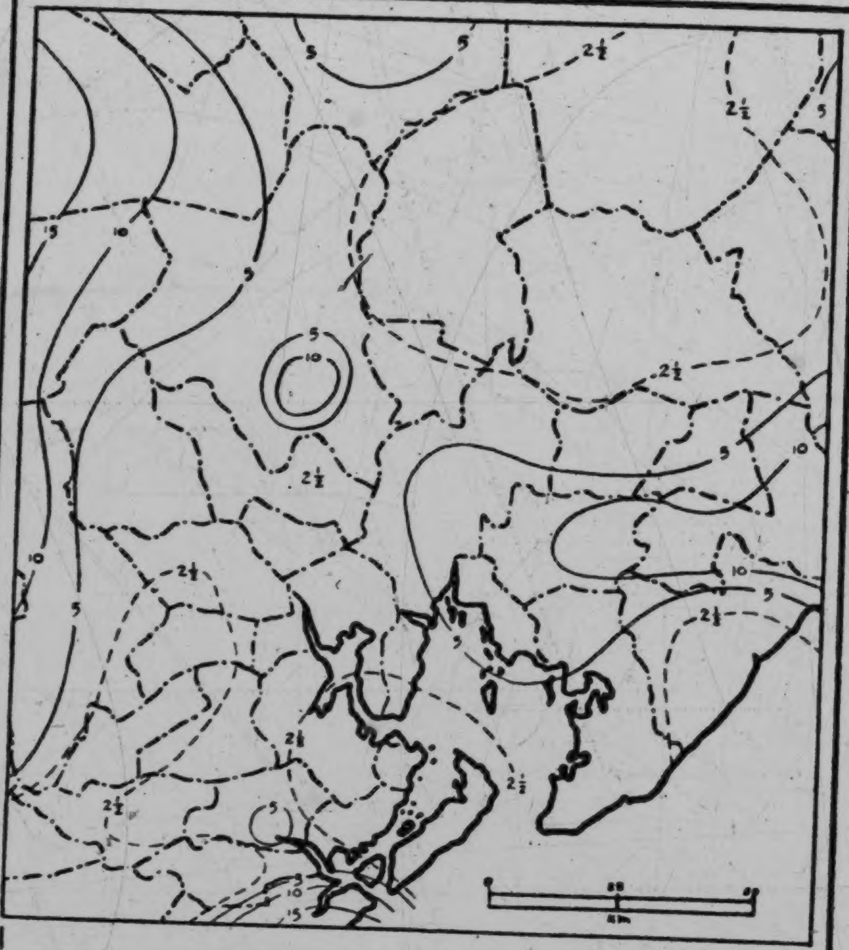
B
231
241 The interdependence of the livestock-producing sertão and the areas of cultivation, signalized by the cattle fairs, is a characteristic feature of Brazilian agricultural life. The interior, from Ceará to Rio Grande do Sul, is a reservoir from which are drawn the cattle and the work animals for the main centers of crop cultivation and for the cities.

231 small (Map 88). 233 Within the Recôncavo, only the eastern part of the Central Recôncavo and the environs of Feira de Santana had even a moderate number of ranches. Livestock enterprises generally occupied less than one-fifth of the enumerated area (Map 89). These properties were relatively important in the Northwestern and Central Recôncavo, a reflection of the importance of ranching and cattle fattening in the northwest and of the need for work animals in the sugar cane region. In the Southwestern Recôncavo crop cultivation is too intensive and widespread to share the land with many ranches. Except in the southwest, 20 per cent of the total enumerated area was in livestock units along the limits of the Recôncavo. In relation to the total area, the extent [311] of livestock properties varied from place to place along the border zone (Map 90). Beyond the Recôncavo, ranching is more important in the crystalline areas, whether caatinga or agreste, than in the Tertiary tabuleiros.

231 As has been pointed out, large-scale properties are especially 233 important among the livestock production units. In most parts of the 433 Recôncavo the ratio of the area in large-scale and in small-scale livestock units was about three to one. The analysis of the mean size of large-scale livestock units, plotted on Map 91, emphasizes the diversity within the region and discloses the tremendous size of the ranches in the coastal agreste northeast of the Recôncavo. Since the number of large-scale livestock units was small and the size of the units highly variable, the mean values for the areas of these properties may be deceiving. Nevertheless, it is significant that the mean size of livestock unit was large in the Central Recôncavo, where there are a number [313] of fazendas in the forested hills around the sugar cane region. These [249] properties are used primarily as sources of firewood for the usinas

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 301]

102*
231
233
241
433


5
5
2½
2½
5
15
10
5
5
10
2½
2½
5
10
10
5
10
2½
2½
2½
2½
5
5
10
15
Km

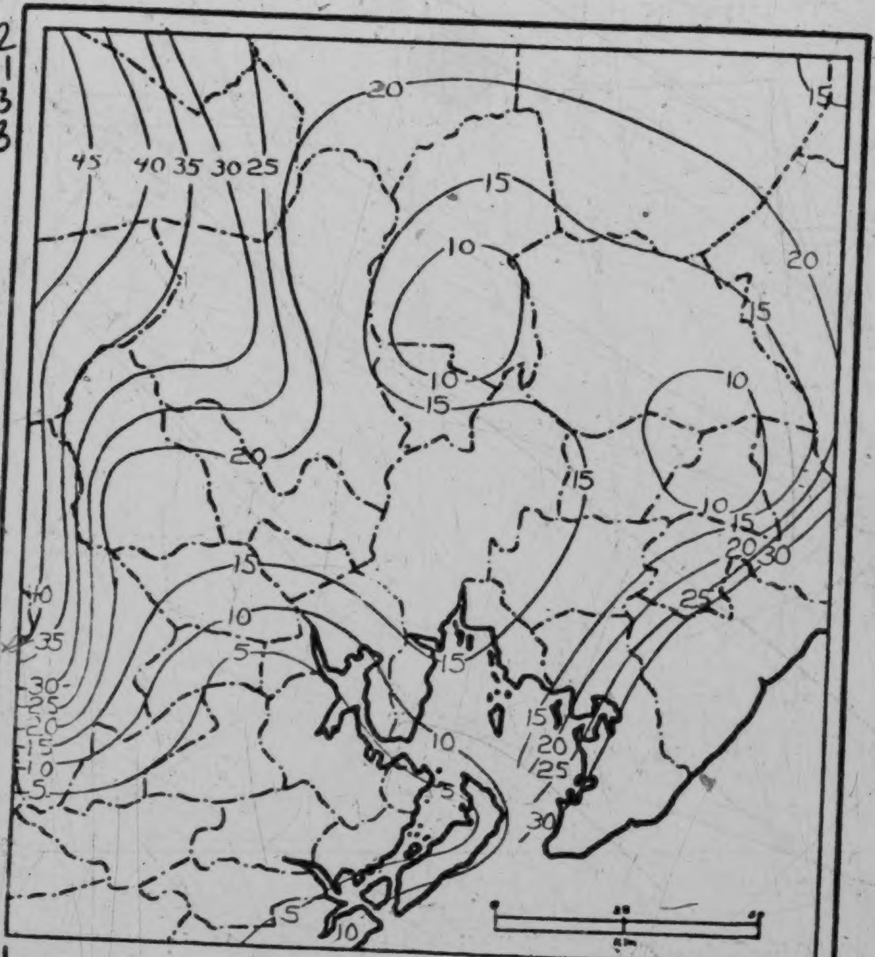
RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of All Agricultural Enterprises Which Were Livestock Enterprises—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 88

102
231
233
● 433


45
40
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
20
15
10
10
15
20
15
20
15
10
15
10
15
20
30
25
15
10
5
15
15
20
25
30
40
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
10
5
5
10

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

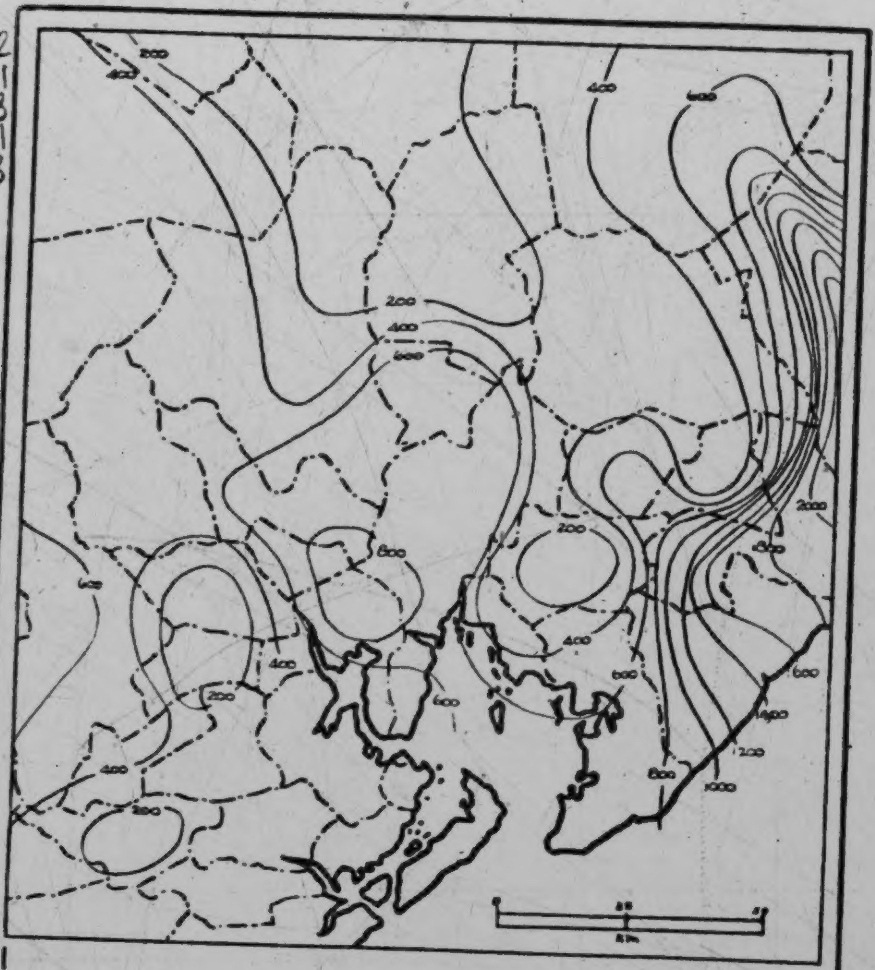
Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Livestock Enterprises—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 89

*702
231
233
311
433


200
400
600
800
1000
1200
1400
1600
2000

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

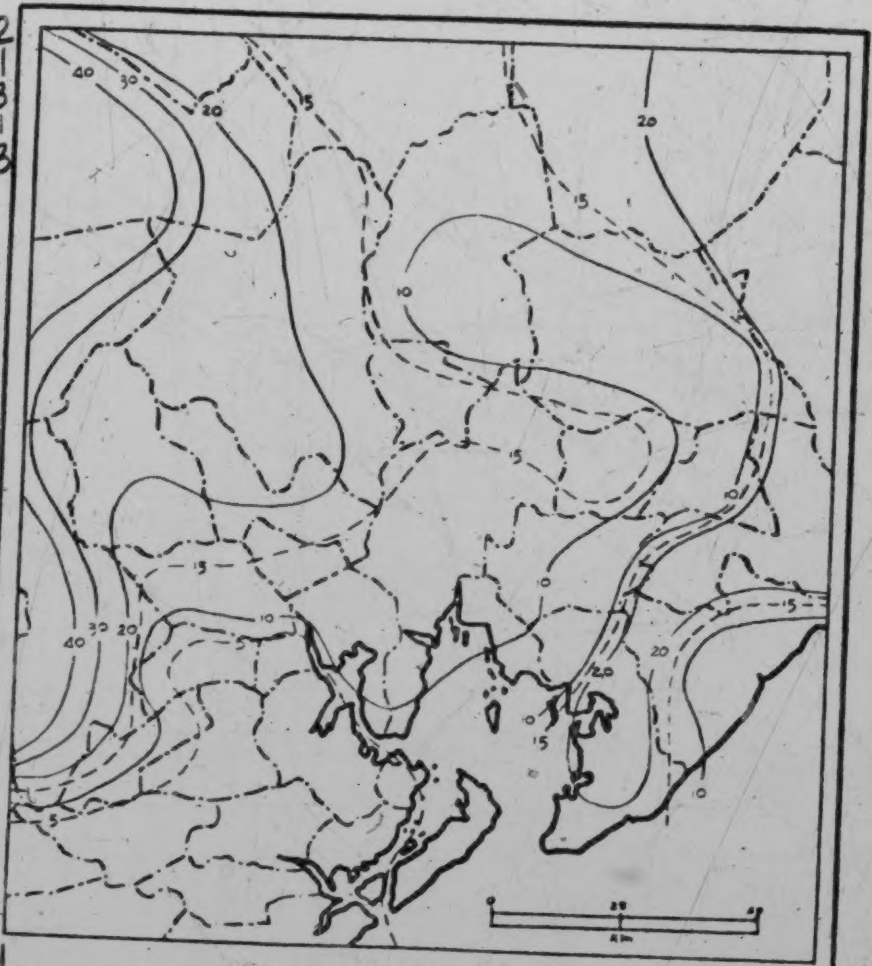
Mean Size of Large-Scale Livestock Enterprises—1940

In Hectares

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil; 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 91

*102
231
233
311
● 433



RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

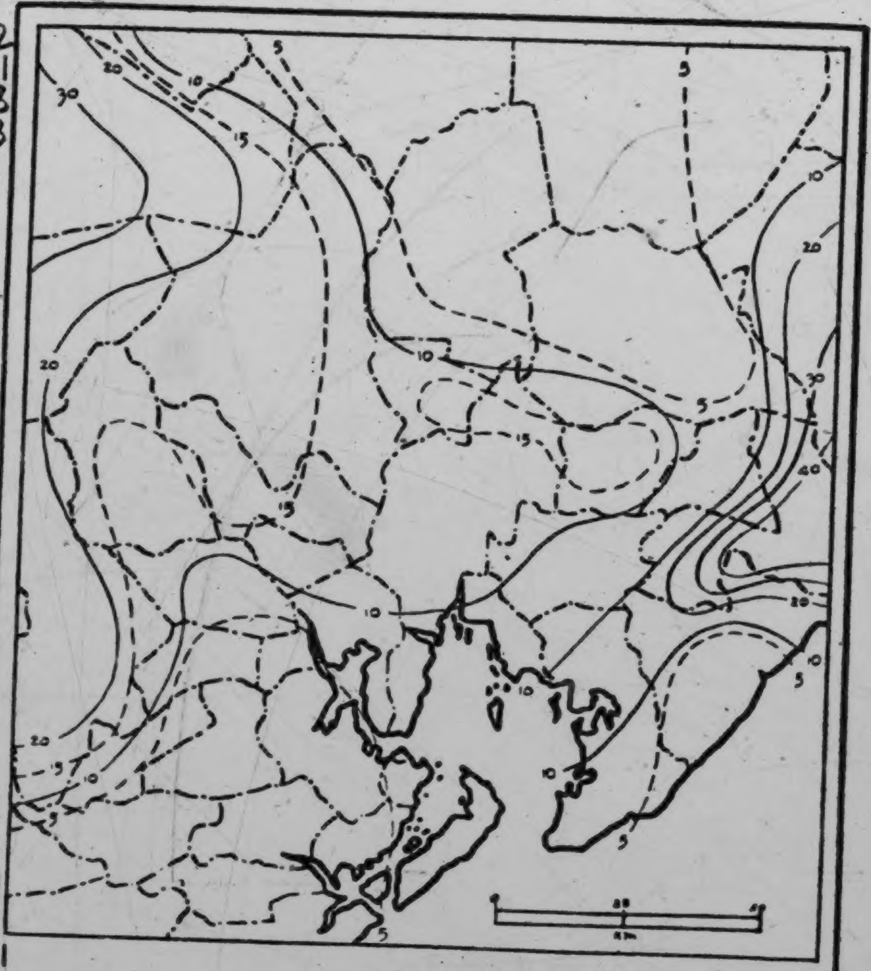
Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Large-Scale Livestock Enterprises—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 92

*702
231
233
• 433
311



RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Land Area in

Large-Scale Livestock Enterprises—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 93

231 233 433 [313] [249] and locomotives of the cane area, but, as has been pointed out previously, they have supplementary livestock production.[4]

231 233 311 433 Of the 247 large-scale livestock units in the Reconcavo, 65, with a total area of almost 30,000 hectares, were in the município of Feira de Santana (Maps 92 and 93). Another 39, with about 16,000 hectares of land, were in the Central Recôncavo. Each of these two areas has a distinctive character: the Central Recôncavo fazendas de gado--cattle ranches--supply oxen and horses, asses, and mules to the sugar economy; the large fazendas of Feira de Santana, with extensive grassy pastures, serve the campo de gado--cattle market--of the cidade and thereby the whole economy of the Recôncavo.

231 241 311 184 Crop Cultivation Units. Almost one-half of all farms in the Recôncavo produced no animals in 1940. In the marginal areas of the region, excepting always the southwest, less than one-third of the farms were pure crop cultivation units (Map 94). On the other hand, crop farms were particularly numerous on the southern littoral, where the forests are not salutary to livestock--except swine and fighting cocks. The Northern Recôncavo, where ranching is not an important activity, had a relatively large number of crop cultivation units, as had Salvador and the adjoining coastal município, Camassari.

241 311 Relative to both the enumerated and the total area, the purely crop cultivation units were very important in Itaparica and Santo Amaro and unimportant around the border zone of the Recôncavo (Maps 95 and 96). On Itaparica and in the sugar cane region, crop cultivation units occupied over one-half the total land area--over 85 per cent on the island of Itaparica. The size of crop cultivation properties in the Recôncavo was generally small, but there were very great local differences
000 (Map 97). The tobacco-manioc region, especially in the Southwestern

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 306]

CHAPTER IX

VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

B BB 241 128

The analysis of the distribution of cropland and of the quantity of production has established the Recôncavo as a distinctive regional unit of Bahia and of Brazil without formulating clearly the importance of the region to the state or the nation. Similarly, the internal differentiation of the region has been discussed in terms of various municípios, sub-regions, and crop regions without establishing the basic importance of these to the Recôncavo except as components of the agricultural landscape or as producers of crops with an unspecified value. Although the value of agricultural production is not exclusively economic, monetary value is one of the most useful general standards for estimating the collective and individual importance of diverse agricultural products.

B BB 128

The tables and discussion which follow have three purposes: (1) the estimation of the importance of the Recôncavo and its individual products to the Brazilian and the Bahian economy; (2) the determination of the importance of individual products within the economy of the region; and (3) the evaluation of the economic importance of the crop regions, previously delimited, to the Recôncavo.

B BB 241 433

The total value of the crops of the Recôncavo was less than 1 per cent of the total value of crop production in Brazil in 1948, based upon a comparison of the value of 21 principal crops of Brazil and of the Recôncavo which are given in Table XV. Although for several centuries the region was an outstandingly productive center of the Brazilian economy, today it plays a secondary role even within Bahia. In recent decades the southern coast of the state, growing cacao for foreign markets, has

BB 245 433 439

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 344]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954) 1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1
South Brazil SM1
East Brazil SN1
Northeast Brazil SO1
343

TABLE XV

VALUE OF THE CHIEF COMMERCIAL PRODUCTS OF THE RECONCAVO COMPARED WITH OTHER AREAS--1948

Agricultural Products	Value of Production in Cr.$000			
	Recôncavo	Bahia	Other Centers*	Brazil
Crops:				
Leaf Tobacco	86,700	155,041	227,266 - Rio Grande do Sul	615,293
Manioc	70,600	292,373	351,427 - Minas Gerais	2,357,570
Sugar Cane	54,200	148,980	458,254 - Pernambuco	2,425.494
Beans	15,500	123,552	670,274 - Minas Gerais	2,719,235
Oranges	14,800	28,904	191,938 - Rio de Janeiro	567,790
Bananas	9,200	35,503	144,525 - São Paulo	754,380
Corn	8,200	71,623	1,423,153 - Minas Gerais	5,249,030
Coconuts	6,500	46,368	42,135 - Paraiba	225,870
Coffee	3,400	95,958	3,947,704 - São Paulo	6,450,919
Pineapples	1,700	4,130	24,020 - São Paulo	94,404
Peanuts	1,300	1,798	258,287 - São Paulo	292,274
Sweet Potatoes	1,200	19,837	100,732 - Rio Grande do Sul	435,547
Total of 12 Crops	273,300	1,024,057		22,187,806
Total of 21 Principal Crops**	275,000	1,731,164	11,213,444 - São Paulo***	33,082,875
Livestock	60,000			

---

*In each case the figure which is used for comparison is that of the principal producer of the individual crop in Brazil, except in the case of coconuts, where Bahia is the chief producer and the second most important center has been used.

**These are the 21 principal crops of Brazil which are listed in Produção Agrícola: 1948.

***São Paulo was used in this comparison because the total value of its production of the principal crops exceeds that of any other state.

Source: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

BB 241 231 233 433
a EB SB NB 241 433

BB 245 433 439 come to be the area of the greatest value of agricultural production in
the state--Cr.$1,007,824,000, in 1948, almost three times the value of
B BB 231 233 433 crop and livestock production in the Recôncavo, Cr.$335,000,000. The
total value of livestock production in the Recôncavo is estimated to be
about Cr.$60,000,000 for 1948. Although no comparable figure is available
for Brazil, probably the Recôncavo had less then 1 per cent of the livestock
and thus produced less than 1 per cent of the value of livestock
in the nation as a whole.[1]

B BB 433 The present inferior position of the Recôncavo is in part a reflection
of the relative decline of the region in the nineteenth century
discussed in the chapter on the evolution of the Recôncavo. However,
the Recôncavo continues to lag behind in the contemporary development
B BB 241 249 433 [458] [656] of Brazil. From 1944 to 1952 the total *cruzeiro* value of the principal
crops of Brazil increased four-fold, while the value of Bahia's tobacco
crop, a good indicator of the economic shifts of the Recôncavo, increased
by only one-fifth despite the concurrent inflationary spiral. Even the
government-stabilized sugar industry of the Recôncavo produced only
three and one-half times its 1944 value. Although the above increases
are more indicative of the steadily declining value of Brazilian currency
than of true economic development, they are an index of the relative
importance of agriculture in the Recôncavo to the national economy.

BB 249 244 433 311 Tobacco, sugar cane, and manioc, which occupied 70 per cent of
the Recôncavo's cropland, accounted for 77 per cent of the total value
of all principal crops in 1948 (Table XVI). Each of the three crops
contributed at least 20 per cent of the value of all crops, while no other
crop produced over 6 per cent of the total. The *cruzeiro* value of these
principal crops, and of livestock, and their relative position within the
nation has been given in Table IV, above.

TABLE XVI

241
433
311

RELATIVE CROPLAND AND VALUE OF ALL CROPS OF THE RECÔNCAVO WITH A VALUE OF MORE THAN Cr.$1,000,000 IN 1948

Crop	Per cent of the Cropland of the Recôncavo	Per cent of the Value of All Principal Crops of the Recôncavo
Tobacco	27	32
Manioc	28	25
Sugar Cane	15	20
Beans	9	6
Oranges	1	5
Bananas	1	3
Corn	12	3
Coconuts	1	2
Coffee	4	1
Pineapple	<1	<1
Peanuts	<1	<1
Sweet Potatoes	<1	<1

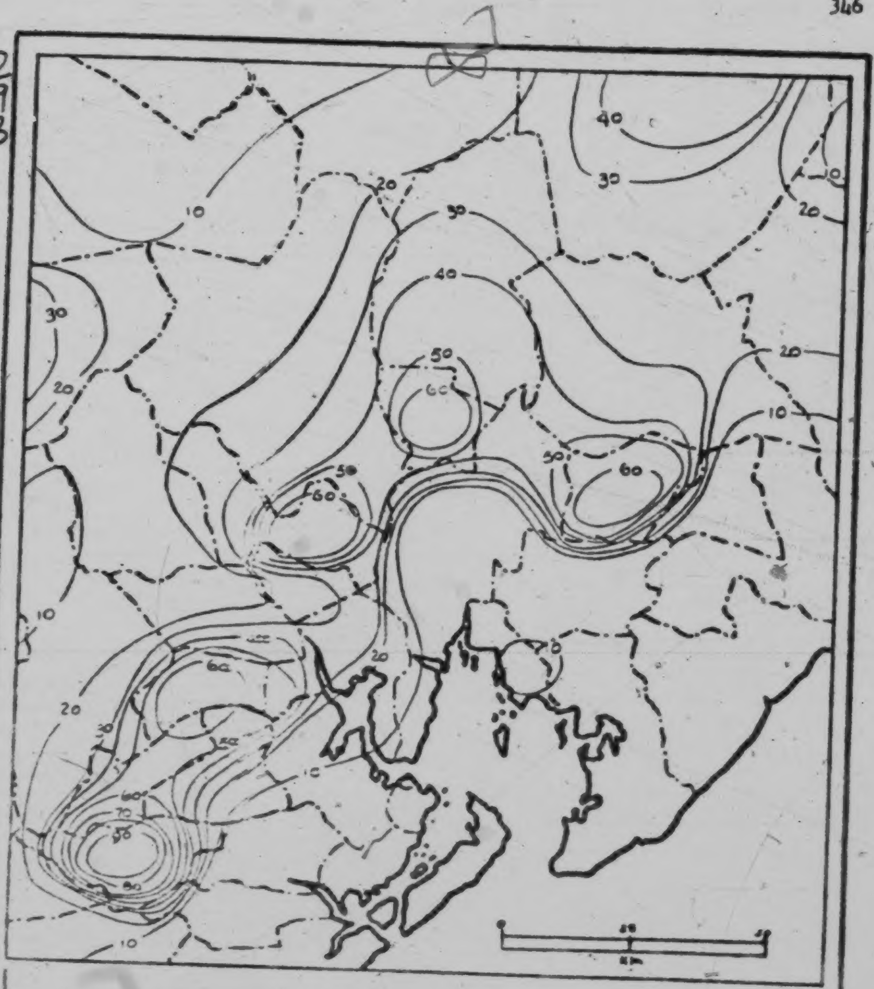
Source: Calculations and estimates based on data from Produção Agrícola: 1948.

249
433
[311]
[435]

The leading position of tobacco results in part from its extensive cultivation, and in part from its relatively high unit value. While the mean value of production of all crops in the Recôncavo was Cr.$3,400 per hectare in 1948, tobacco produced Cr.$3,900 per hectare, as given in Table XVII, which also shows the value of production per hectare of the other principal crops. The leading position of tobacco is at variance with tradition which, as has been seen, assigns the first rank to sugar cane. Not only was tobacco the most valuable crop of the Recôncavo in 1948, but it was also the leading crop in seven municípios of the tobacco-manioc region, where it accounted for a minimum of 40 per cent of the value of all crops. Within four separate municípios of the crop region, it accounted for about 60 per cent of the total value of crops (Map 120). The Southwestern Recôncavo was the chief center of the production of tobacco, as indicated by value as well as by cropland and bulk, for it produced over 63 per cent of the total value of tobacco in the Recôncavo. Within this section, Cruz das Almas was the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 347]

*102
249
433


40
30
10
20
10
20
30
40
50
60
30
20
50
60
20
10
50
60
10
20
60
30
60
70
80
10
10

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Value of Crop Production

Contributed by Tobacco--1948

MAP 120

TABLE XVII

MEAN VALUE OF PRODUCTION PER HECTARE FOR THE CROPS OF THE RECÔNCAVO IN 1948

241
• 433
435

Crops	Value of Production Cr.$1.000 per ha.
Principal Crops*	
Tobacco	3,900
Manioc	3,100
Sugar Cane	4,600
Beans	2,200
Oranges**	13,300
Bananas**	8,600
Corn	800
Coconuts**	7,400
Coffee**	1,400
Pineapple	1,000
Peanuts	2,400
Sweet Potatoes	3,500
All Crops	3,400

*Crops with a value in excess of Cr.$1,000,000.

**There is little consistent relationship between the area and production of these crops, so that local values for these crops often depart widely from the mean.

Source: Calculations and estimations based upon Produção Agrícola: 1948.

249
433
leading producer—40 per cent of the total value of the tobacco crop. Notwithstanding the dominant role of the Southwestern area, tobacco production north of the Rio Paraguaçu was also significant—contributing 24 per cent of the total value of the crop.

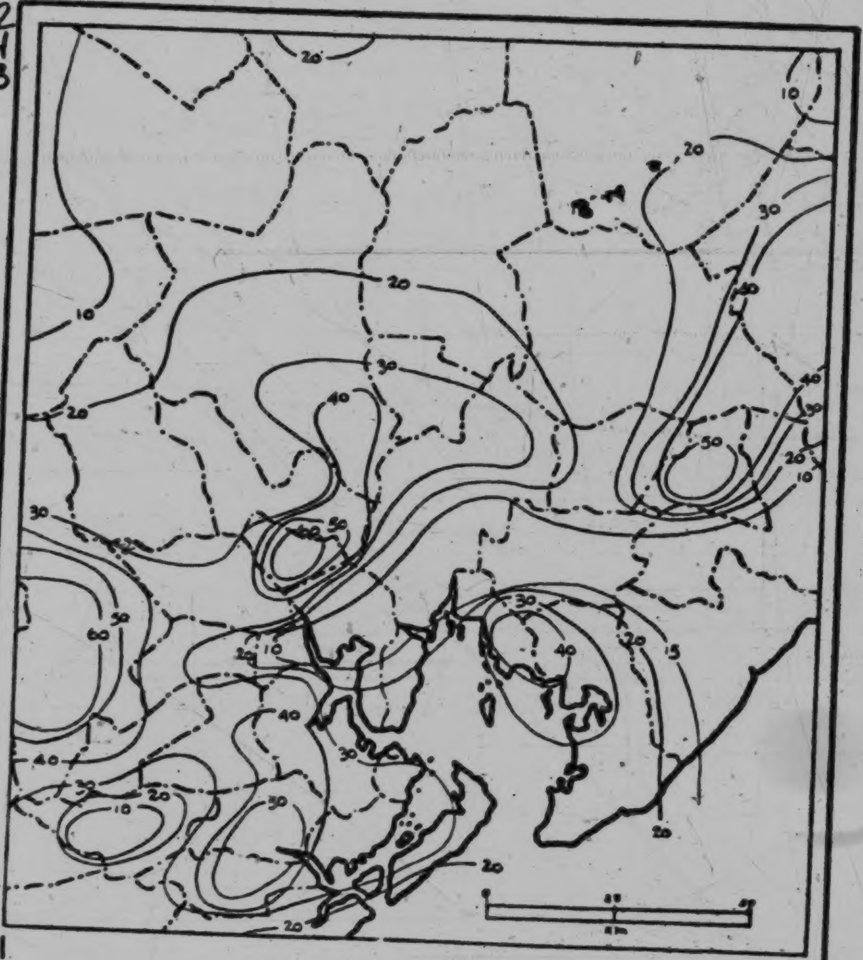
As has been indicated, several grades of tobacco are produced in the Recôncavo. The superiority of the tobacco production of the Southwestern Recôncavo is more than a matter of hectares of cultivation or kilograms of leaf. The area is the core of the "Mata Fina" zone, within which the leaf of Cruz das Almas is assigned the highest price. [439] The "Mata Fina" leaf is the basis of the export of cigar tobacco to European markets. In its concern with cacao, the most valuable export, [245] [439] Bahia tends to forget the important role which tobacco plays in its economy, and with this, so the people of the zone sometimes feel, to

249 433 [245] [439] [491] neglect the critical tobacco producing areas. It seems to be true that the chief recipients of political and economic attention have been the traditionally important sugar cane area, and more recently the cacao zone. The people of the tobacco area complain particularly about the lack of roads.

244 433 Not only is manioc the basic source of subsistence for the Recôncavo, it is also the second crop in value of production. Its cultivation as has been seen, is closely associated with the production of tobacco, so that the Southwestern Recôncavo, which produced 63 per cent of the tobacco crop, also contributed a very large part--48 per cent--of the total value of manioc (Map 121). However, manioc is important in its own right, as well as in its relationship to tobacco. No data are available to indicate the importance of manioc as a surplus product which is sold beyond the borders of the município in which it is grown. A rough estimate can be made by assuming that the per capita consumption of manioc is 400 kilograms per year--this is the mean consumption for the state of Bahia. Using this figure in conjunction with the population data, it is possible to estimate that in 1948 about 30,000 tons of surplus manioc was produced in the Recôncavo. Ninety per cent of this surplus was produced in the municípios of the Southwestern Recôncavo. [489] [494] It is significant that many of the trucks passing from the Southwestern Recôncavo to Feira de Santana and Salvador are piled high with bags of farinha de mandioca. The total value of commercial manioc would be about Cr.36,500,000, so that on this basis manioc is the fourth or fifth most valuable commercial crop of the Recôncavo. Using the above method of determination, it was found that several municípios adjoining the region also produced surpluses of manioc. The most notable of these were the four municípios adjacent to the Southwestern Recôncavo--Nazaré, São Miguel, Santo Antônio, and Castro Alves--which produced a

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 350]

*102
244
• 433


20
10
20
30
40
30
20
10
20
30
40
40
60
50
30
10
20
60
50
40
20
10
40
30
20
10
30
20
30
40
20
15
20
20
0
20
40
Km

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Value of Crop Production

Contributed by Manioc--1948

MAP 121

244 433 [438] 10,000-ton surplus. The surplus manioc of these municípios would appear to be marketed to the manioc-deficit areas of the Recôncavo, particularly [249] the sugar cane area and Salvador. It is significant that those municípios which were the leading producers of tobacco were also the leading producers of commercial manioc (Map 123). Although the exchange and processing of tobacco in these areas is well organized and receives some attention from government bureaus, the growing and processing of manioc remains an unrecognized enterprise.

249 244 433 The importance of the production of tobacco and of commercial manioc to the various municípios of the Southwestern Recôncavo is shown in the following summary:

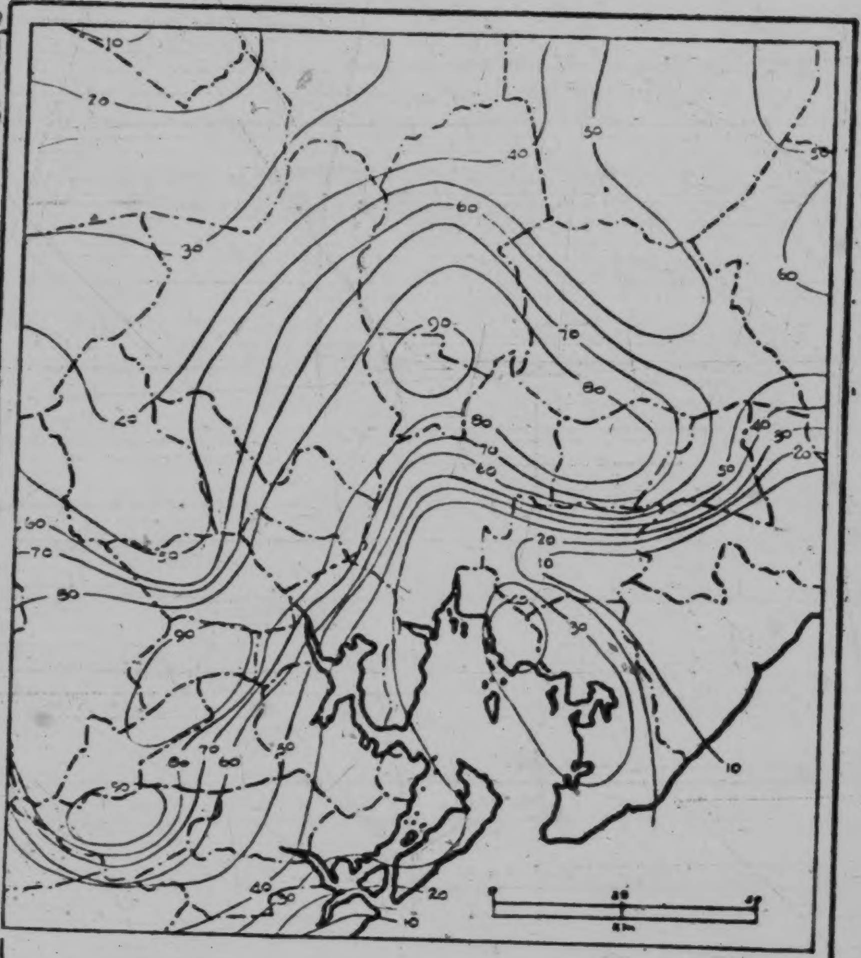
Município	Per cent of Total Value of Production	
	Tobacco	Manioc
Cruz das Almas	65	23
Conceição de Almeida	57	38
São Filipe	25	32
Muritiba	17	14
São Félix	54	-

One of the advantages of the relative balance of these two products is that in the event of a crop failure of one, the area would still have a salable commercial product. Moreover, since the production of manioc is relatively large, a moderate decrease in its yield would still leave this area with at least a minimum supply of food for its large agricultural population.

249 257 433 [654] Sugar cane is now the third crop in value in the Recôncavo, but it is maintained in that position only by government subsidy. It is a crop which either dominates the region in which it is produced or its cultivation is economically unimportant (Map 124). In part this is the result of the technological requirements of the sugar industry, which demand that large quantities of sugar cane be produced close to the mill so that the cane can be delivered quickly once it is cut. However,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 354]

102
244
249
433


10
20
30
40
50
60
70
80
90
0
20
40
Km

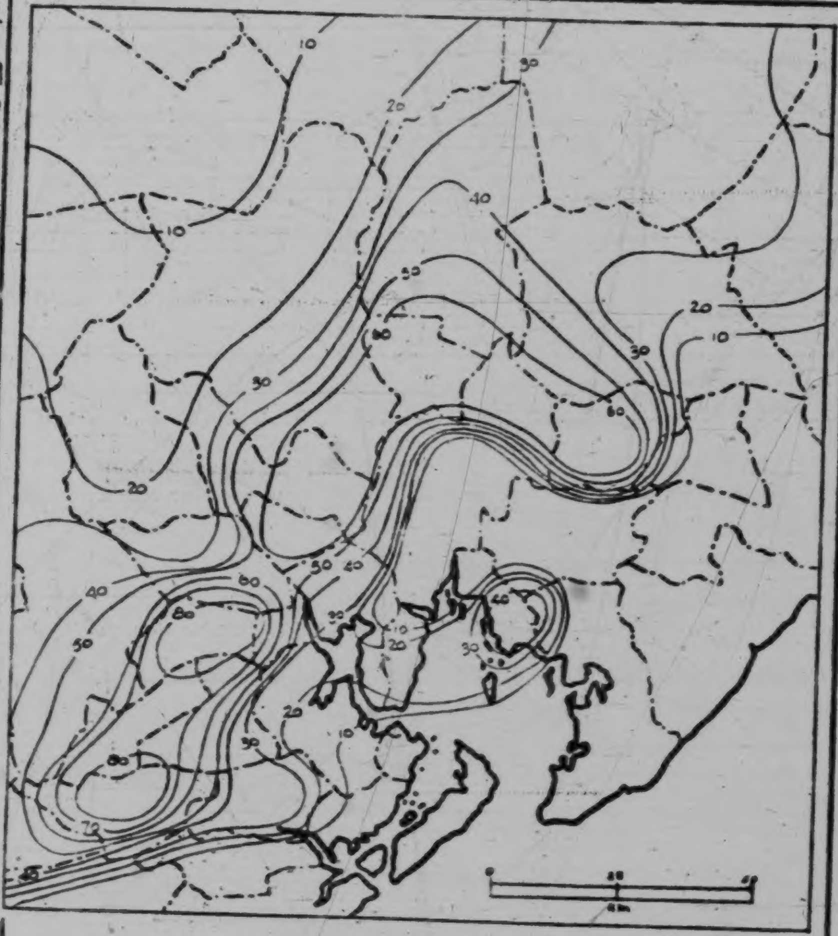
RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Value of Crop Production

Contributed by Tobacco and Manioc—1948

MAP 122

*102
244
249
433


10
30
20
40
10
50
80
20
10
30
60
30
20
50 40
60
80
40
50
30
10
20
60
30
20
10
30
80
70
0
20
40

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

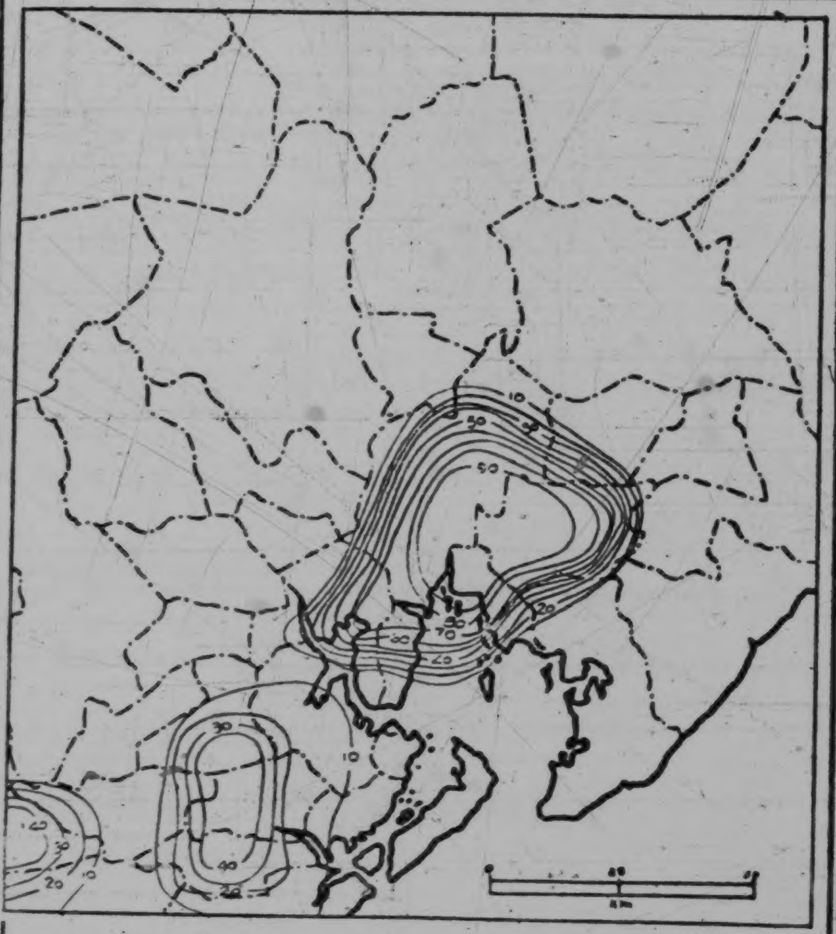
Per cent of the Total Value of Crop Production

Contributed by Tobacco and Commercial Manioc—1948

(Estimated)

MAP 123

*402
249
433


10
50
50
20
80
70
60
30
10
40
20
40
30
20
10

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Value of Crop Production

Contributed by Sugar Cane--1948

MAP 124

249 257 433 the large landholders and agricultural capitalists of Brazil have a strong historical bias toward monocultural systems.

249 433 471 As would be expected, the Central Recôncavo accounted for almost 90 per cent of the total value of sugar cane in the region. Sugar production in this area is dominated by the big usinas, and most of the cane is produced on very large properties, as has been seen.

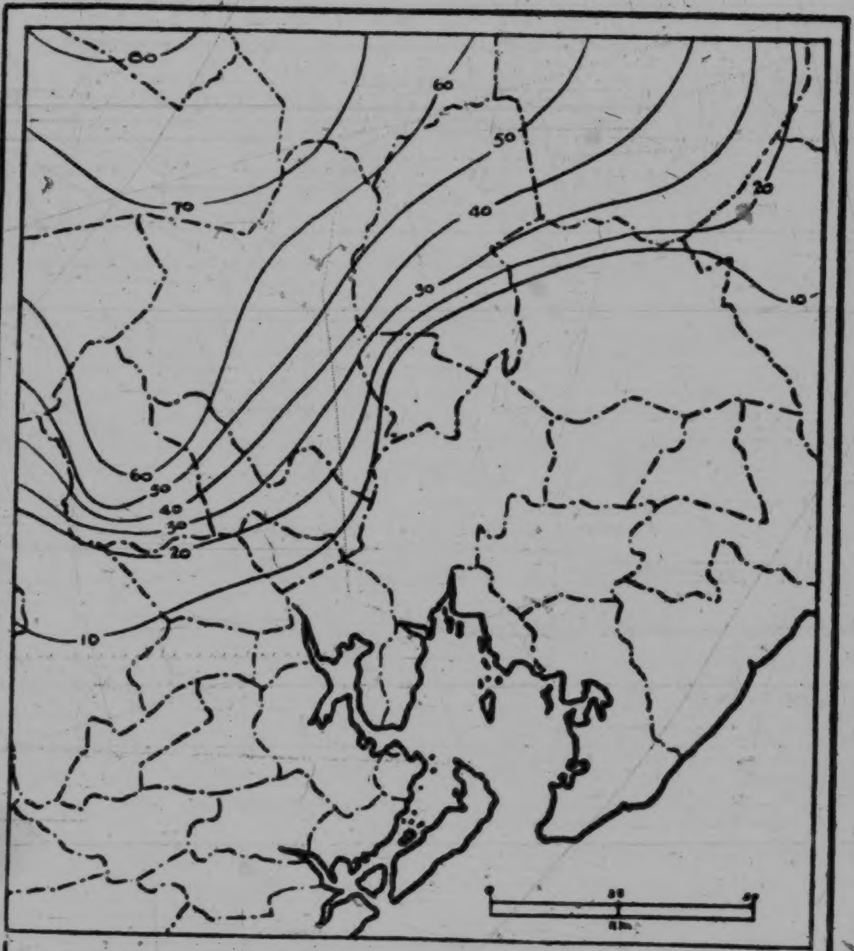
243 244 433 438 Although corn and beans primarily are subsistence crops, they have, like manioc, some commercial importance (Map 125). The corn and bean areas within the Recôncavo do not produce outstanding surpluses, although these two crops are important commercial products in nearby Serrinha and Conceição do Coite. Most of the corn and beans of the Recôncavo are exchanged for farinha de mandioca, which provides the cultivator with a cheaper food.

244 245 433 438 The remaining crops of the region are of minor commercial importance, or are more valuable commercial crops of highly localized production. Bananas, peanuts, and sweet potatoes are minor commercial crops of diffuse production, since most of their cultivation is for subsistence purposes. Oranges, coconut, coffee, and pineapple are important but secondary commercial products whose production is concentrated in a few restricted areas (see, for example, Map 126 of coconut production).

249 244 245 433 438 The importance of the principal commercial crops--tobacco, sugar cane, coffee, coconut, oranges, pineapple, a few minor crops, and commercial manioc--varies widely from município to município (Map 127). However, two areas--the Central Recôncavo and the Southwestern Recôncavo--had highly commercial economies in which over 90 per cent of the total value of production was in commercial crops. In the tobacco-manioc area north of the Rio Paraguaçu, only one-half to three-quarters of
000 the total value of production was in commercial crops. Except in the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 358]

*102
243
244
•433


60
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
20
40
Km.

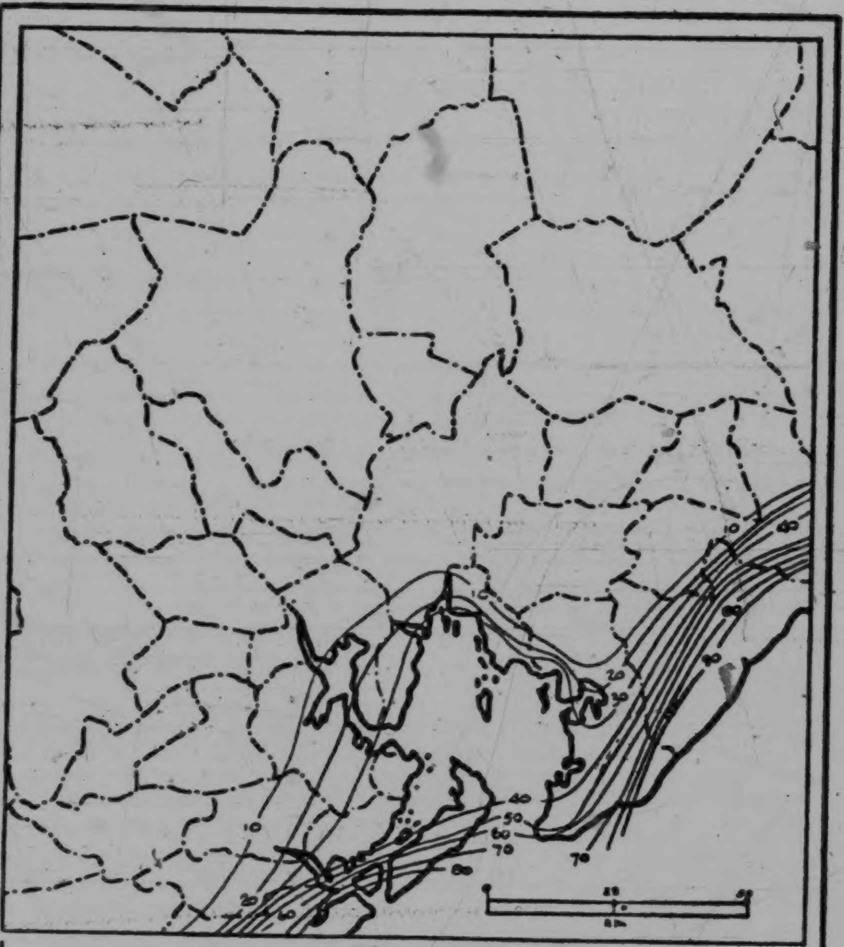
RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Value of Crop Production

Contributed by Corn and Beans--1948

MAP 125

902
245
433


10
40
80
80
20
30
40
50
60
70
70
80
10
20
60
20
40

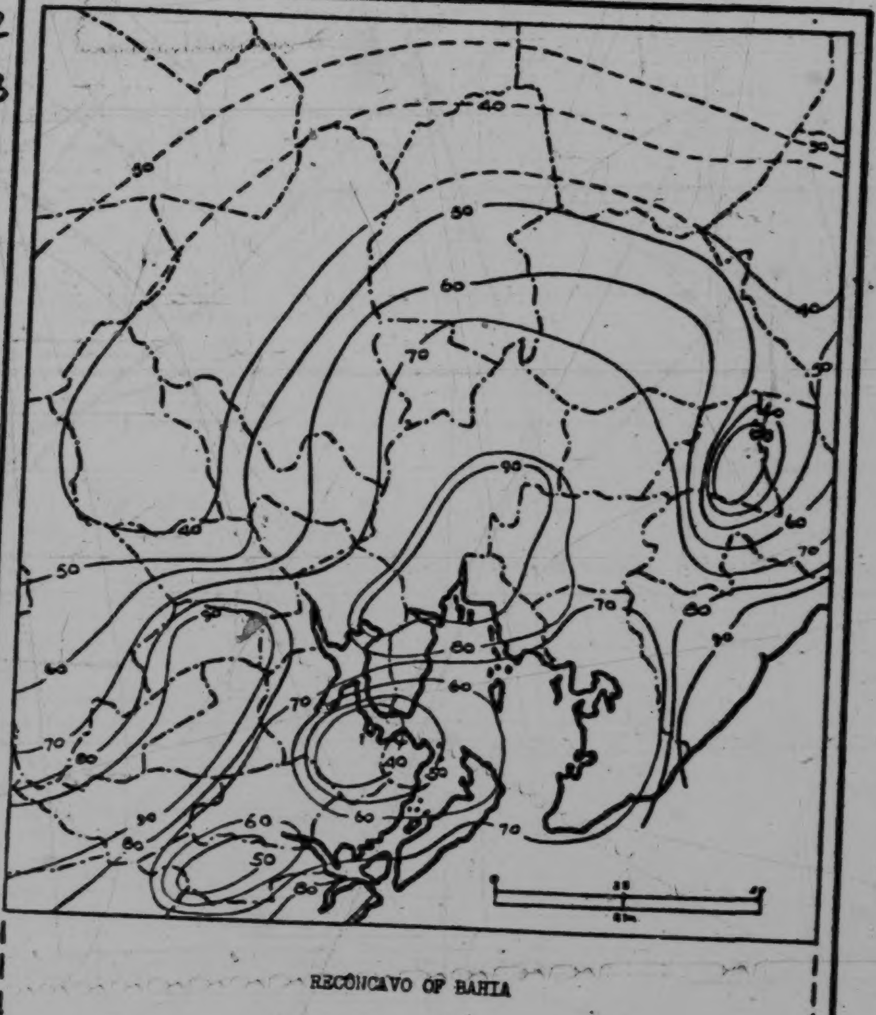
RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Value of Crop Production

Contributed by Coconuts--1948

MAP.126

*702
241
• 433


40
30
50
60
70
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
40
50
60
80
70
80
90
70
80
60
70
60
50
40
70
80
70
60
90
80
60
50
80
70
60

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Value of Crop Production

Contributed by Commercial Crops--1948

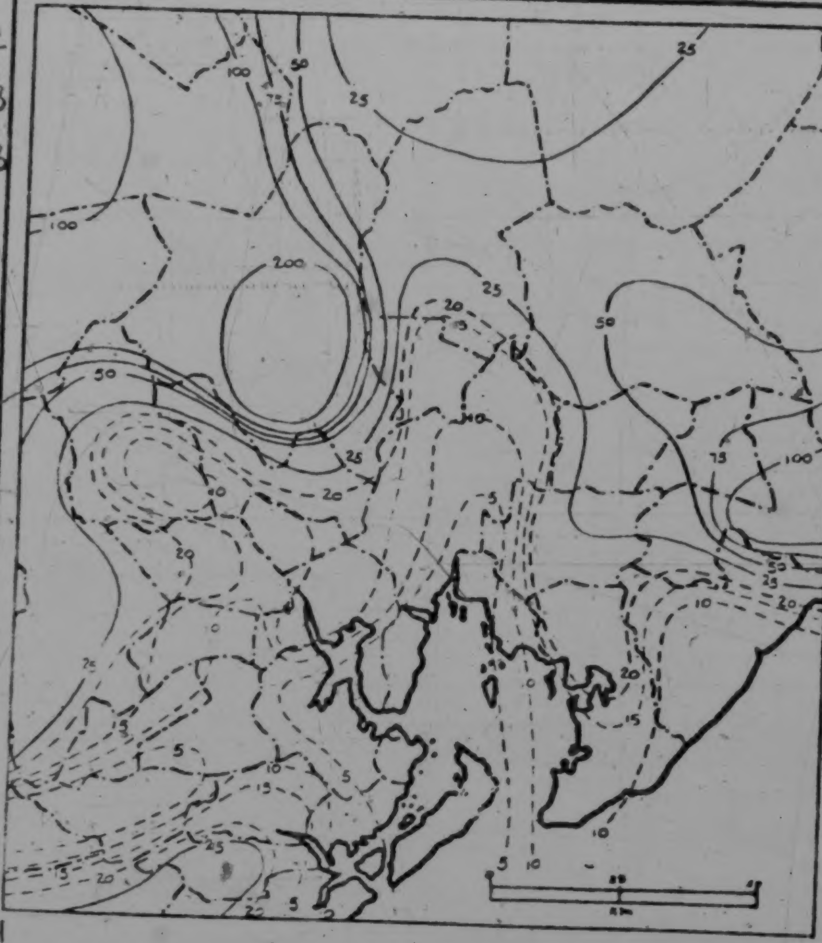
MAP 127

Except in the
241 southwest and around Salvador, commercial crops produced only 40 per
433 cent of the total value of all crops. It is apparent that agriculture in the Recôncavo is by no means universally commercial. Moreover, in all parts of the Recôncavo except the sugar cane area, there are small agriculturalists who produce few commercial crops and are thus virtually subsistence cultivators.

241 The estimated value of livestock production was less than that of
231 crops in all areas of the Recôncavo except Feira de Santana, and except
233
433 in Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas, less than half the value of crops (Map 128). In the chief commercial crop areas--Central and Southwestern Recôncavo--livestock production had about 10 per cent of the value of crops. These areas, on the evidence of value as well as land use and quantity of production, have highly commercial crop economies. Only Feira de Santana can be said to have a livestock economy, and in this area livestock production is concentrated around the *cidade*, and the rest of the *município* has a predominately crop-producing economy.

128 The table which follows (Table XVIII) summarizes the distribution
241 of the value of crops and animals in the principal regions and zones
231
233 of production. These areas accounted for 82 per cent of the total
433 value of agricultural production in the Recôncavo in 1948. The data of this table give further evidence of the tremendous economic importance of the tobacco-manioc and sugar cane regions to the Recôncavo.

102
231
233
241
433


100
75
50
25
200
25
20
15
50
10
100
75
50
25
20
10
5
10
20
25
20
10
5
10
15
25
5
15
20
25
5
20
10
5
10
20
15
10
5
10

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Value of Livestock Production as a Per cent of the Value of Crop Production--1948

MAP 128

TABLE XVIII

VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION OF THE PRINCIPAL CROP REGIONS AND OTHER AREAS OF THE RECÔNCAVO—1948

241
·433
435

	Value of Production	
Sugar Cane Region (Sugar Cane & Animals)		
Main Area North of Bay		
Santo Amaro	Cr.$35,200.00	
Western São Sebastião	12,700.00	
Western São Francisco	4,700.00	
Total	52,600.00	
Cachoeira	1,500.00	
Southern São Filipe (no animals)	3,600.00	
Total—Sugar Cane Region		Cr.$57,700.00
Tobacco-Manioc Region (All Crops & Animals)		
In Southwestern Recôncavo		
Conceição do Almeida	26,400.00	
Cruz das Almas	57,700.00	
Eastern Muritiba	14,900.00	
Northern São Filipe	11,000.00	
São Félix	5,700.00	
Northern Maragogipe	3,300.00	
Total	119,000.00	
In Other Sub-Regions of Recôncavo		
Conceição da Feira	4,900.00	
São Gonçalo	11,400.00	
Feira de Santana	6,100.00	
Irará	9,300.00	
Coração de Maria	4,900.00	
Santo Amaro	17,900.00	
Catu	3,600.00	
Total	58,100.00	
Total—Tobacco-Manioc Region		177,100.00
Feira de Santana Livestock Area		16,000.00
Bay Margin and Suburban Areas		
Itaparica	6,900.00	
Salvador	8,900.00	
Maragogipe	1,000.00	
Santo Amaro	2,000.00	
São Francisco	4,200.00	
Total		23,000.00
Total		Cr.$273,800.00

Source: Calculations and estimates based upon Produção Agrícola: 1948.

249 in meeting his contract with the agent. The result of this and other
442
438 speculative practices is that the price of tobacco tends to spiral upwards
452 throughout the season.

455 The crop is delivered to the buyer in small lots--10 to 15 kilo-
249 grams--which are assembled, graded, and baled. The bales are taken to
276
438 the warehouse of the agent where they are added to other bales to form
442 a large pile in which fermentation can take place. After fermentation the bales are broken, and the leaf is re-sorted. With the better grades the sorting is done very carefully, and a large number of size and texture grades are separated. Intermediate grades are sorted less carefully, often by bundles rather than by individual leaves. The poorest grades are stripped without grading. After sorting or stripping, the leaf is again placed in bales and kept in the warehouse until transport can be arranged to deliver the tobacco to Salvador or to the cigar factories.

249 Most of the tobacco produced in the Recôncavo is exported. In the
433
439 years 1946 to 1950, inclusive, 166,676 tons of leaf tobacco were produced in Bahia and 128,567 tons were exported, so that about 75 per cent of the total crop of the state was exported.[2] However, the exported leaf is made up of the choice tobaccos, that is "*Mata Fina*," which are largely grown in the Recôncavo. It may be concluded from this that at least four-fifths of the tobacco crop of the Recôncavo was exported during this years. Tobacco exported from the Recôncavo normally composes 70 per cent of all the tobacco exported from Brazil. In value, the tobacco exported from the Recôncavo was less than 1 per cent of the total exports of all products from Brazil.[3]

482
492 *Transportation.* The backs of men and of animals are the basic
489 transportation media in the Recôncavo: almost all goods begin and end

492 as a ton of cane through the rain-softened clay. It is pulled, depending
493 upon the load and the condition of the route, by four, six, or
eight oxen. It has no brakes, although occasionally a long pole is
used as a drag. The cart and the team are managed by two people, a man
who rides the cart, goads the wheel oxen, and shouts directions, and a
boy who runs in front and turns the lead oxen with a long slender pole.
As has been seen, a very large number of oxen are maintained on the
sugar cane plantations and the accessory ranches of the area. Donkeys
492 are used in the cane area for lesser tasks, such as carrying seed cane,
tools, and subsistence products; both horses and mules are used for
riding--usually the plantation foremen ride the patient, slow-moving
mules, while the owners and administrators ride the small, agile horses
which come from the sertão. In most other parts of the Recôncavo, in
the littoral forest and in the dry caatinga, the donkey and mule are the
universal beasts of burden.

491 One município of the Recôncavo--Coração de Maria--has no motor
[492] roads, and is thus served only by pack animals. The cidades of all
the other municípios are on highways of some sort, but usually only a
single road passes directly across the município. The back-country
487 of the municípios, which in this sense includes about nine-tenths of
the total area, is criss-crossed with a network of trails. Some of
these are wide enough for an ox cart, or in very good weather, for a
jeep to pass through. Many others are only narrow paths winding through
the second growth and passing between cultivated fields.

489
433 Land transportation between the various parts of the Recôncavo
438 has less direct agricultural importance than in the United States, since
so much of the agricultural produce is consumed within the município
439 in which it is grown. Those agricultural products, such as tobacco
497
494 or sugar, which are destined for non-local or external markets are

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 373]

505 abuse by the sea and by man. While some of these boats are used for [226] fishing in the Bay and in the ocean, their most important function undoubtedly is bringing food from the areas around the Bay to the city of Salvador. On the return trip, they carry building materials, [249] manufactured articles, and passengers. The usinas of the coastal [257] sections of the sugar cane area use these vessels to transport cane to the mill and to deliver the products of the mill to Salvador. Several of the cities on the Bay are very much dependent upon this means of transport, especially São Francisco and Maragogipe, which for all practical purposes have no road connections.

Motor boats serve to connect Salvador and the island of Itaparica. All of the tidewater cidades of the Bay and, in addition, São Roque do Paraguaçu and Nazaré are connected with the city of Salvador by scheduled motor vessels which carry many passengers and small quantities of freight. These vessels ascend and descend the estuaries with the tide. The head of navigation on the Rio Paraguaçu is Cachoeira, and on the Rio Sergi is at a landing on the outskirts of Santo Amaro.

489 241 433 These various transport media provide for the movement of people and goods across the Recôncavo. They are generally able to meet the immediate demands of the agricultural economy without excessive delays. The available media of transport are used to the fullest extent; busses, trains, and motor vessels are always crowded, and the trucks are always busy. However, the poor roads, the archaic railroads, the taxes on the movement of goods, and the high cost of vehicles clearly set a limit to the expansion or the intensification of the agricultural system. The rationalization of agriculture in the Recôncavo would require considerable expansion and improvement of the system of transportation.

249 497 which it is hauled by railroad or boat to the mill, although sometimes
505 the cane which is carried by boat is weighed at the mill. The railroads
496 which handle the cane, as has been indicated, are owned and
471 operated by the usinas, except that the government right-of-way is
249 used whenever these tracks pass close to the plantations. One of the
usinas is new and a few of the older mills have some new equipment,
but the general level of technology is considerably below that of
Pernambuco or São Paulo, and the mills are somewhat smaller. The usinas
grind the cane, extract the juices, and refine the sugar by means of
vacuum pans and centrifuges. The more modern usinas produce a high
quality sugar, but in general the product is coarse and not a pure white.
274 The by-products of the large usinas and part or all of the cane juice
385 of some of the usinas and engenhos is converted into rum or commercial
262 alcohol. The sugar, rum, and alcohol from the sugar industry of the
273 438 Recôncavo are consumed primarily within the Recôncavo and the adjoining
439 regions of Bahia. About one-tenth of the production of sugar is
382 exported, chiefly to Rio de Janeiro. The commercial alcohol usually
385 is mixed with gasoline in the bulk plants in Salvador to provide fuel
654 for automotive transport. By law a specified amount of commercial
alcohol must be mixed with gasoline--this is designed to subsidize
the sugar industry.

249 471 There are twenty usinas in the Recôncavo, and these produced
433 an estimated 80 per cent of the total sugar of the state of Bahia in
1948. The three largest of these are owned by a single sugar company,
which also owns the associated plantations, transportation equipment,
and cattle fazendas. This company plays an important role in the
249 marketing of sugar from its own usinas and from other companies. The
471 concentration of the cultivation of sugar cane and of the production
178 of sugar in the hands of this single enterprise is a symptom of the

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

128 In the preceding chapters the results of a statistical appraisal and a field investigation of agriculture in the Recôncavo have been presented. As a conclusion it seems appropriate to: (1) summarize the findings; and (2) discuss the potentialities of the Recôncavo for agricultural development

433 Like most of the densely-settled east coast of Brazil, the
241 Recôncavo is engaged primarily in the production of crops. This is true
not only of the region as a whole, but also of each of its individual
parts excepting only the area around the cattle market town of Feira de
241 Santana. The total cultivated area of the region, about 6.4 per cent
311 of the land surface, was almost evenly divided in 1948 between purely
commercial crops--tobacco, sugar cane, coffee, oranges, and coconuts--
and subsistence-commercial crops--manioc, corn, beans, bananas, peanuts,
and sweet potatoes. About 70 per cent of the cropland was used for the
three predominant crops--manioc, tobacco, and sugar cane. Livestock pro-
231 duction is associated with crop cultivation in many parts of the
233
241 Recôncavo, but the region is also dependent upon the sertão of Bahia
for livestock, which are driven into Feira de Santana and are used in
several different areas within the region.

249 The three principal crops as determined by cultivated area--
244 tobacco, manioc, and sugar cane--accounted for 77 per cent of the total
433
value of crops in 1948, and no other crop accounted for more than
[231] 6 per cent of the total value. Thus agriculture in the Recôncavo is
[233] primarily concerned with these three crops and with the production

249
244
433 of livestock, which had a value greater than sugar cane but less than
[231] manioc.
[233]

Agricultural activities within the Recôncavo are localized in
several distinct sub-regions, each with a specialized system of culti-
vation and each with either one or two principal crops. The primary
agricultural subdivisions of the region are: (1) the sugar cane mono-
cultural sub-region; and (2) the tobacco-manioc sub-region.

249 Sugar cane is grown as the exclusive crop in its major area of
production--the pocket of coastal plain north of the Baía de Todos os
Santos. Cane is generally cultivated under a four-year monoculture and
one-year fallow system on large properties employing large quantities
of hand labor and using oxen to draw plows and carts. Neither fertilizer
[407] nor agricultural machinery is used to any appreciable extent. Most of
[492] the animals used as labor in the production of sugar cane are brought
[231] into the area from the *sertão*, and little livestock breeding is found
[233]
in this area. The processing of sugar cane is in the hands of a small
[471] number of medium-sized *usinas*. The companies which own these *usinas*
[178] are gradually buying up the plantations so that to an increasing extent
the mills directly control the production of sugar cane. Most of the
[499] cane is brought to the *usinas* by railroad, although sailing boats are
[489] used for this purpose along tidewater. Most of the sugar produced in
[505]
[438] the Recôncavo is consumed within the state of Bahia, but small quantities
[439] are shipped to other parts of Brazil. Both the aristocratic upper class
[565] and the rising non-aristocratic business interests of the Recôncavo are
[471]
[472] involved in the ownership and administration of the sugar industry. The
[464] permanent labor force is supplied from the settlements of the sugar cane
[178] plantations and the mills, but the rural population and the labor force
of the sugar area are declining. Seasonal labor for the harvest comes
from the interior *sertão* of Bahia.

249 Commercial sugar cane cultivation is confined to the humid Coastal
311 [134] Plain areas with Cretaceous clay soils, except for a small area in São
Filipe. Since the areas of Cretaceous clay soils are limited and compact, sugar cane production is highly localized in two areas: (1) the
main sugar cane area in the municípios of Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and
São Sebastião; and (2) a smaller area north of the Bacia do Iguape in the
município of Cachoeira. There is a third area of less intensive production in southern São Filipe.

249 The sole purpose of cultivation in the sugar cane area is the
244 [433] production of a commercial product, but the areas of tobacco-manioc
cultivation produce both a staple food and a commodity for sale outside
the region. Most of the tobacco and manioc of the Recôncavo are produced
under a land rotation system in which the sequence is: (1) tobacco;
(2) manioc; and (3) fallow in wild vegetation. The tobacco is planted
in small fields, usually after an application of manure. The entire
plant is harvested repeatedly until it will no longer produce a salable
leaf. Manioc is planted following tobacco, sometimes several times,
until the field is exhausted and abandoned to the second growth. The
fallow period is frequently short, sometimes as little as one year.
Cultivation is entirely by hand--no plows are used. There is very little
selection of seed, and only one variety of tobacco--Bahia Brasil--is
[423] produced. Tobacco and manioc are produced almost exclusively by small
[427] cultivators who are either owners or renters. Frequently livestock
[231] are raised upon the properties of the cultivators, but except for the
[233] use of manure in the cultivation of tobacco, there is little integration of crop and livestock production. The leaf is harvested, dried,
276 and partially fermented by the cultivator. The marketing of tobacco
276 438 is inseparable from the credit arrangement between the cultivator and
[452] the tobacco buyer or agent. The leaf is delivered by the producer to
[488] the storekeeper-buyer or the local tobacco warehouse.

000 the storekeeper-buyer or the local tobacco warehouse. The roots of the
258
438 manioc are processed locally, in casas de farinha, and the farinha de mandioca is sold in the local market or to storekeepers in the nearby village or town.

249
244
311 The sub-region of tobacco and manioc production occupies the humid eastern and southern edges of the Uplands. The chief center of
134 production, the Southwestern Recôncavo, occupies a zone of deep, sandy and sandy loam soils lying in flat-surfaced uplands above crystalline rocks. The northern parts of the tobacco-manioc sub-region occupy the rough, dissected southern edge of the sandy Tertiary taboleiros--in this northern area the production of both crops is less intensive than in the Southwestern Recôncavo. The area of primary tobacco and manioc production generally conforms to the forest and scrub forest transition and is expanding southwestward beyond the traditional Recôncavo along this
[433] physical boundary zone. The intensity of production is also increasing,
[178] but with violent year to year fluctuations.

241 In addition to sugar cane, tobacco, and manioc, other subsistence
433 and commercial products are grown in the Recôncavo. The most important of these are corn and beans, grown as commercial and subsistence crops in the north and west of the region, and coconuts, which are produced along the beach line. Bananas, sweet potatoes, and peanuts are grown in most parts of the Recôncavo, but on a small scale.

241 There are several areas in which there is little or no cultiva-
311
137 tion. The rougher Intermediate Hills, which are forested, separate the sugar cane sub-region from the tobacco-manioc sub-region. The lowland areas of Tertiary and crystalline soils are also forested and are cultivated under a non-intensive land rotation system with some associated
241 livestock. The Recôncavo is distinguished from the surrounding areas by its relatively greater mean intensity of cultivation. In the

128 241 (2) tobacco production; (3) manioc production; (4) the land rotation system; and (5) alternative agricultural products.

249 471 For three centuries the sugar industry was the basis of the commercial economy of the Recôncavo and for the last century it has continued to play an important role. As a result of its long and profitable history, it has a number of advantages as a basis for agricultural development. Its capital assets are large—the best land in the region, a number of industrial plants, and a transportation network. Moreover, its [565] land is organized into large units, many of which are under the control of a single company, and all of which are under the control of a small group of the upper class. The industry has a large administrative staff, the most experienced in the region in large-scale enterprises—the organization of agricultural and industrial production, labor, transportation, and finance. It has the very great advantage of good political connections and government support. A part of the industry, [242] composed chiefly of the largest usinas, has had some experience with improved varieties of cane, and on a very limited scale with mechanization.

249 471 433 Against these advantages are a number of limiting factors. Most of the local capital of the sugar industry apparently is committed in the present plant. The sugar economy of the Recôncavo is large scale only in relation to the other agricultural enterprises of the region—the mean daily capacity of the mills can scarcely exceed 500 ton. Moreover, many of the mills are obsolescent—there is only one new usina, and only the larger mills have very much new equipment. Despite [464] the presumed administrative skill of the industry, labor has been one [178] of the continuing problems since the deterioration of the old feudalistic [466] employer-employee relationships of the late nineteenth century. However,

249 471 • 433 these individual shortcomings of the industry are less important than, and to a certain extent derived from, three basic problems of the sugar economy: land, market, and leadership.

249 [311] Most of the area of Cretaceous soil in the lowlands of the Recôncavo presently is occupied by sugar cane or by the fallow fields. Only those lands which are too wet or which are needed for settlement, mills, or transportation are not used for cultivation. Thus there seems to be little opportunity to increase the area of good sugar cane land. It would presumably be possible to reduce the fallow period by lengthening the period of ratoon harvests or to abandon the fallow period altogether. If, as seems likely, these changes would reduce the yield of cane, then it would be necessary to begin to use expensive imported fertilizers in order not to lose the advantages gained by increasing
[242] the intensiveness of cultivation. The introduction of high-yielding Javanese varieties of cane has already been attempted, but because of climatic conditions, soil deficiencies, poor cultivation practices, or a combination of these factors, yields remain below East Indian levels.
[134] It is theoretically possible that sugar cane cultivation could be extended to the other soils of the lowland--the Tertiary sandy soils and the crystalline soils of the peninsula and of the Intermediate Hills west of the Bay. Both of these soils, however, are relatively infertile, and the sandy soils are particularly unsuited for cane because of their poor retention of water. Sugar cane cultivation is not practical on the Uplands on account of the low precipitation—cane can be grown in only a few damp valleys of the Uplands.

175 249 439 The second great disadvantage of the sugar cane industry of the Recôncavo is in its market relationship. The history of the sugar cane economy of the region may be summarized as follows. At the end of the sixteenth century the forty engenhos of the Recôncavo exported 1,800 tons

249 industry than the aristocrats, as the partial rationalization of the
565 sugar system since 1900 testifies. However, the entry of even these
178
571 relatively progressive and forward-looking business men into an industry
whose only future is that guaranteed by the protection of the government
does not reveal a willingness either to accept short-term risks
or to make an investment in the long-term future of the Recôncavo.

175 Tobacco, as has been seen, began its history as an auxiliary of
277
433 the sugar cane economy. The development of the commercial tobacco
439 economy since 1800 indicates a greater flexibility than is characteristic
[567] of the sugar industry. When the decline of the slave trade brought an
end to the African market for *fumo em corda*, the tobacco economy turned
277 to a new product, *fumo em fôlha*, and to a new market, Europe. Unlike
439 the sugar of the Recôncavo, Bahian tobacco has been able to compete
successfully in the European market against leaf imported from Cuba and
from Sumatra. Moreover, the leaf tobacco of Bahia dominates the internal
market of Brazil to a degree not equaled by the local sugar industry
for several centuries.

277
472 There are several possible explanations for the relatively
greater flexibility of the tobacco economy. Several of the more prominent
249
178 firms in the manufacturing of cigars and in the export of tobacco
have foreign origins or are owned by people of European background.
Indirectly these firms may have affected the operation of the tobacco
economy, but it is difficult to find any signs of significant changes
in the methods of cultivation. On the other hand, the tobacco industry
and trade seem to have been spared the unimaginative and inflexible
leadership which the aristocratic upper class of the Recôncavo has
given to the sugar industry.

249 Tobacco cultivation by its very nature is more flexible than
[457] the system of sugar production. Instead of the *usina*, which must be

249 [457] purchased in Europe at the expense of precious foreign exchange, tobacco
can be processed for the trade with only a shed and a few crude presses.
[489] Rather than a relatively expensive rail net to assemble the crop, tobacco
can be carried by truck, small boat, or even by pack animal. Moreover,
[433] since the cultivation of tobacco is integrated with the production
of food and is primarily an activity of small farmers, it is possible to
adjust the size of the crop from year to year with a minimum sacrifice
of capital investment.

277 The tobacco industry of the Recôncavo has a number of disadvantages
as a base for commercial development which may be summarized as
problems of: (1) land; (2) markets; and (3) system of production.
249 Leaf tobacco production in the Recôncavo and in the adjoining areas of
311 Bahia is confined to a narrow belt between the humid edges of the Uplands
[134] and the dry interior of the state. An expansion toward the coast
would bring tobacco first into the Intermediate Hills where the upland
soils which are preferred for tobacco cultivation are of limited area
and then into the humid lowlands in which the Cretaceous soils are
unsuitable, apparently, for the cultivation of quality leaf tobacco
[132] and in which the Tertiary soils are extremely infertile. An expansion
westward would bring tobacco into an area where the precipitation in
[134] most years is inadequate. The interior north of the tobacco area is
dry and has very poor soils, the Tertiary upland soils. There is an
[137] opportunity for the further expansion of the cultivation of tobacco
toward the southwest along the forest and scrub forest boundary into a
region which produces the same general type of tobacco as the Southwestern
Recôncavo--the "Mata" grade. This apparently is the meaning
of the increased tobacco production in Santo Antônio. It should be
possible, at least as far as the soils and climate are concerned, to
continue the expansion toward the southwest into the adjoining

APPENDIX D

Changes in Crop Data

241
433
127
128
[659]

The crop data in Produção Agrícola: 1948 were gathered by statistical agencies of the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística established in each cidade of Bahia and of most other states in Brazil. The quality of statistical data assembled is highly variable, depending in part upon the efficiency of the agent but also upon the size of the município and upon whether the products are easily assessable, or are marketed locally, and a number of other factors. In a number of cases it has been necessary to modify obviously erroneous parts of the official data, which were sometimes contradictory and sometimes at variance with the agricultural pattern as determined by field investigation. This usually has been done by interpolating from other more creditable data from the same basic source or from other sources. In the following pages the important changes which have been made in the data for various crops will be discussed, and maps based upon the original data will be presented.

When the data for area, production, and value were combined to determine yield and price, and these relationships were mapped, certain obvious errors and a number of clues to the direction and extent of error were discernible because the general outline of price and yield pattern in the Recôncavo was clear. Generally one of the three base figures--area, production, or value--was accepted as valid and the others adjusted to bring yield and/or price into line. Because of an almost complete lack of property surveys, the crop area data are at best a gross estimate and liable to great error. On the other hand, the location of the statistical bureau in the cidades, usually the primary market, does give opportunity to make reasonably close estimates of value and production, at least of marketed crops.

[443]
[659]

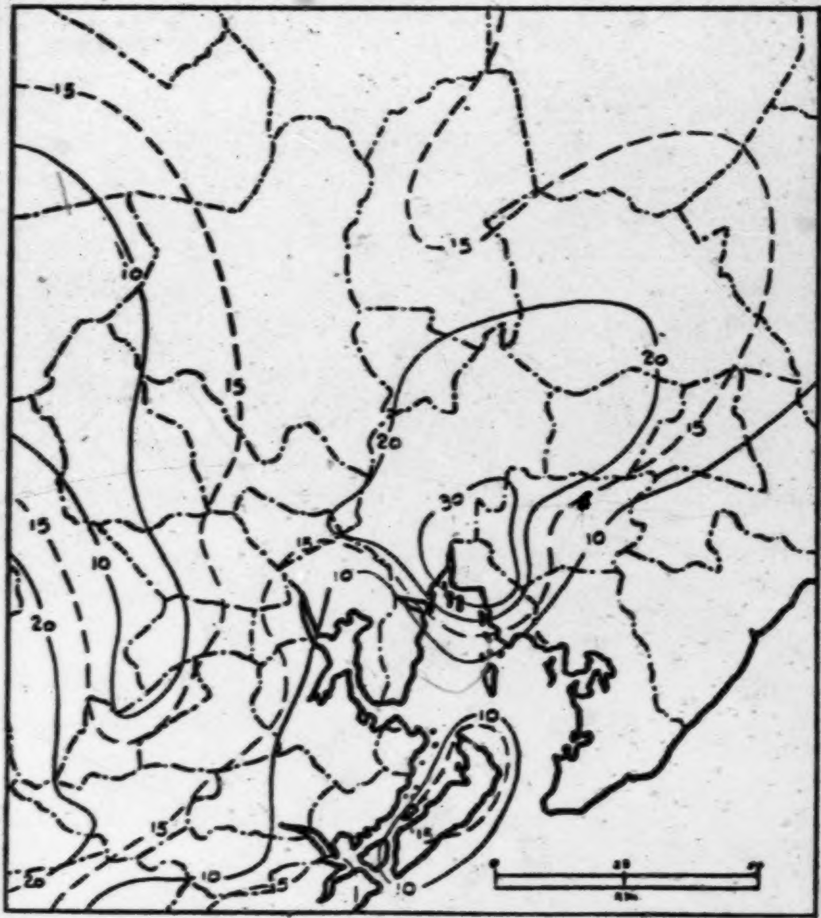
241 433 127 128 of value and production, at least of marketed crops. The choice between value or production as a base figure for correction was dependent upon the individual case and the generally expected pattern of price and yield.

244 433 127 128 Manioc. The basic shortcomings of the manioc data were clearly revealed when area and production figures were combined to show yield. While the mean calculated yield for the Recôncavo was 16.3 tons per hectare, the mean calculated yield for individual municípios varied from 5.3 tons per hectare for Salvador to 39.0 tons per hectare for São Filipe (Map 130). Certain variations, related to precipitation, soil, and intensity and care of cultivation, are to be expected, but the yield maps revealed incredible contrasts. Especially noteworthy was the case of São Filipe, with its yield of 39 tons per hectare. Adjoining Cruz das Almas and Conceição do Almeida, with similar and if anything more efficient practices of cultivation and with similar soils and climate—especially since most manioc in São Filipe is grown in the area adjoining Cruz das Almas and Conceição do Almeida—produced only 14 and 10 tons per hectare, respectively. It was apparent that at least one element in the São Filipe data was in error. The other municípios with exceptionally high yields--São Francisco, with 34.5 tons per hectare, and Santo Amaro, with 25.3 tons per hectare--probably can be explained by high productivity when manioc is grown on a small and intensive scale on the more fertile clay soils.

In São Filipe the yield calculated from official data was three [435] to four times that of the surrounding municípios. Moreover, the unit value per ton was Cr.$60, compared with Cr.$150 to Cr.$200 for adjacent areas. The conclusion that the production figure was an error was re-enforced through a comparison of the density of production in

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 409]

*102
244
• 433


15
10
15
15
20
20
15
30
15
10
15
10
10
20
10
15
15
10
10
20
10
15
10

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Yield of Manioc—1948

(Based upon un-corrected official data)

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 130

244 São Filipe, 230 tons per square kilometer, with the 162 tons per square
433
127 kilometer of Conceição do Almeida, a more notable producer.

128 It was assumed that the unit value in São Filipe was the mean of the prices of Maragogipe and Conceição do Almeida—São Filipe is midway between these *municípios* in terms of location, transport, and external market relationship—and that:

$$\text{Production} = \frac{\text{Value}}{\text{Unit Value}} = \frac{4{,}290{,}000}{\frac{170 + 190}{2}} = 27{,}333 \text{ tons}$$

This figure is close to 28,000 tons, and it was inferred that the original figure had been transposed to 82,000 tons. Yield was then derived:

$$\frac{28{,}000 \text{ tons}}{2{,}100 \text{ hectares}} = 13.3 \text{ tons per hectare}$$

compared with 13.9 tons per hectare for Cruz das Almas and 11.1 tons per hectare for São Félix, nearby areas with similar conditions. Perhaps this yield is slightly high, but it is in the possible range of variation, and is an acceptable approximation.

[435] There was a second problem in Irará. The unit value of manioc here was Cr.$90 per ton, compared to Cr.$300 in nearby Coração de Maria, Cr.$240 in Feira de Santana, and Cr.$320 in Santo Amaro. Moreover, the density of production was very high, 26.45 tons per square kilometer total area, compared to 10.72 tons per square kilometer for Coração de Maria, especially since so much of northern Irará is not densely settled. When Cr.$200 per ton was postulated as the unit value of manioc, the production derived was 10,500 tons. Yield calculated by using this figure and the original area data would be 4.38 tons per hectare, which is unreasonably small. The yield calculated from the original data—14.6 tons per hectare--seemed approximately correct, and using these yield figures, with the derived production value of 10,500 tons, area was calculated as 719 hectares. The new area figure

244 gave 0.54 tons per square kilometer total area, which corresponded to
433
127 0.59 tons per square kilometer for Coração de Maria.

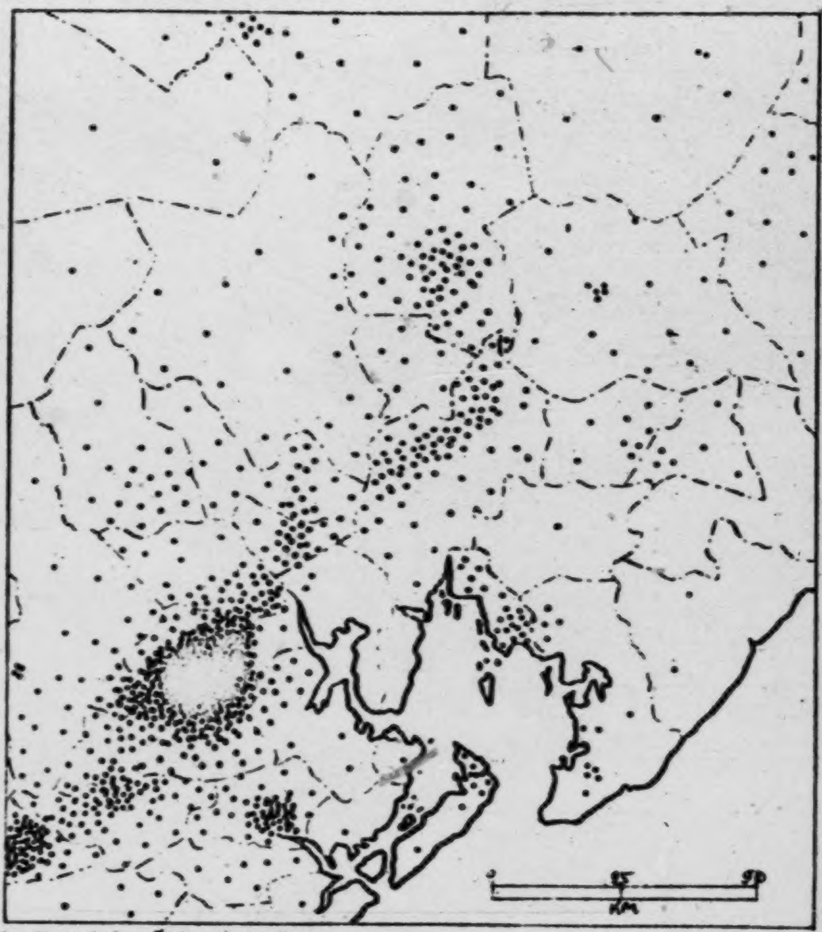
128 In São Sebastião, the low unit value of manioc—Cr.$80 per ton—
[435] indicated possible error. The reasonable intensity of production suggested that the total value data were in error. The mean unit value of the four surrounding municípios--Cr.$240 per ton--was accepted for São Sebastião and was used to calculate a revised total value of Cr.$168,000.

Minor errors were apparent in the data for certain other municípios. For example, the yields of Maragogipe, Cachoeira, and Salvador were extremely low. Adjustments could have been made, but the relatively small manioc area and production in these municípios indicated that the resulting alterations would not markedly change the general area or production pattern. Maps 130, 131, 132, 133 and 134 show the patterns of manioc cultivation, production, and yield as taken from unmodified official data in Produção Agrícola: 1948. The corresponding maps based upon modified data (Maps 22, 23, 24, 25, and 27) are presented in Chapter V.

243 Corn. Calculations from the original data gave Maragogipe a
433
127 yield of .40 tons of corn per hectare, less than one-half the yield
128 of neighboring municípios. This was excessively low, and it seemed preferable to use the figure of 1.24 tons per hectare, the mean of adjacent São Filipe and Cachoeira. These municípios, though not similar to the whole of Maragogipe, resemble very much the adjoining areas where cultivation is concentrated. The production figure for Maragogipe was accepted as reasonable, since when combined with value it produced a credible unit value. Thus the area was reduced from 15 hectares to 5 hectares, raising the yield to a more acceptable level. However, these changes do not modify the gross pattern extensively; and therefore the maps in Chapter 7 were based upon the original data.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 415]

*102
244
• 433



Each dot = 500 metric tons

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

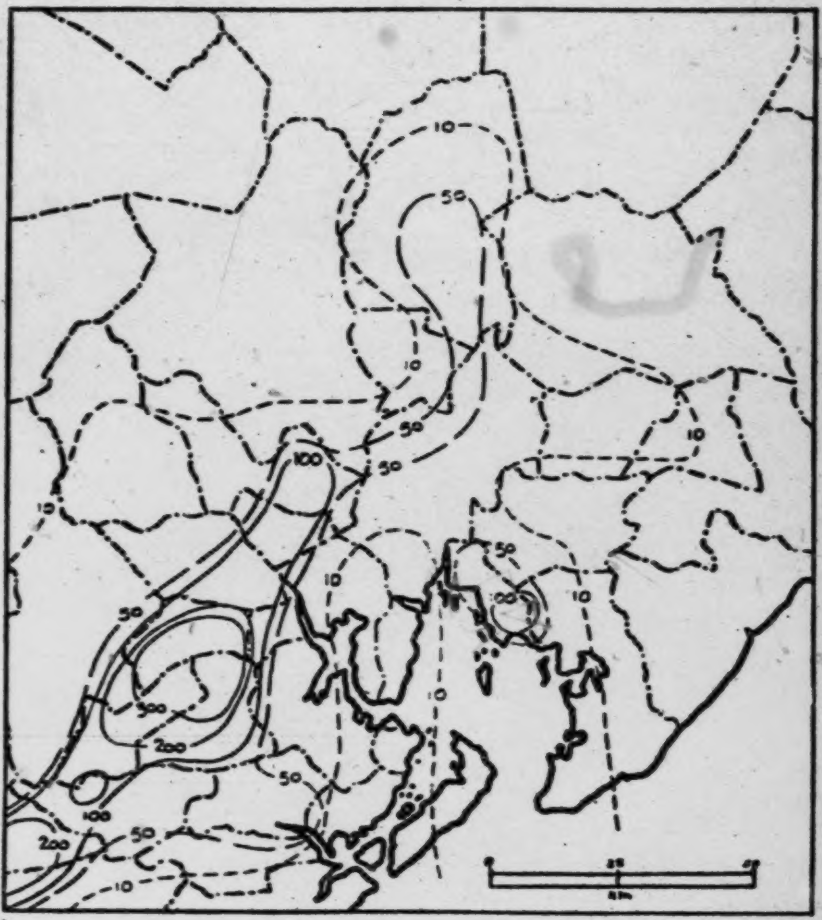
Production of Manioc--1948

(Based upon un-corrected official data)

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 133

*902
244
• 433


10
50
10
50
50
100
10
10
50
10
100
10
10
50
300
200
50
100
200
50
10
0
25
50
Km

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Tons of Manioc per Square Kilometer of Total Area—1948

(Based upon un-corrected official data)

Source of data: Produção Agrícola 1948.

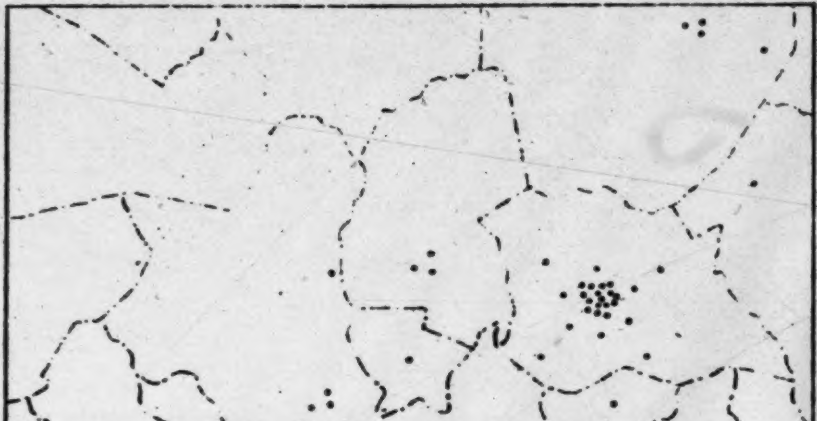
MAP 134

243 127 Area data for corn should be used with reservation, especially 243 for the northern and western municípios. In the drier areas it is the 244 127 custom to plant corn and beans together in the same field, generally in the same row, and the area could have been counted, in its entirety, twice (once for each crop). Yield calculations for corn and beans suggest that this has not been done; however, the vagaries of climate and cultivation in these dry zones produce such variations in mean yield from year to year and place to place that it was impossible to secure a clearcut verification. Conversations with personnel of the compiling agency failed to clarify the situation.

245 Bananas. The maps of banana area, based upon the official data, 433 127 reveal a definite gap in Cruz das Almas and northern São Filipe (Map 135). However, this area lies in the middle of a belt of relatively dense production. Field experience in this immediate area indicated that bananas were at least as important in these two areas as in adjacent Conceição do Almeida. The official data show only 7 hectares and 3,000 bunches of bananas in Santo Antônio, but the large numbers of banana plants which were observed would tend to discredit these figures. Since in the Recôncavo the area planted in bananas does not usually have a consistent relationship to the number of plants and thus to production, yields are not a trustworthy guide to the estimation of 245 production. On the map of banana production in the text (Map 52) the 433 official data have been modified to allow Cruz das Almas 190,000 127 128 bunches in place of the 29,000 in the official data; São Filipe, 70,000 in place of the official 20,000; and Santo Antônio, 86,000 in place of the official 3,000. These changes were made by arbitrarily increasing the production data to give these areas the same density of production as similar areas in adjacent municípios. Since, as has

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 417]

*102
245
433



Each dot = 10,000 bunches

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Bananas--1948

(Based upon un-corrected official data)

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 135

245
433 been indicated, banana area and production do not have a consistent re-
127 lationship, no attempt has been made to alter the map of cultivated
128 area for bananas.

249 *Tobacco.* Although there is a large range in tobacco yields
433 within the Recôncavo as calculated from the official data, only those
127 for São Filipe seem completely unacceptable. If the area of this
município were at the high level—3,600 hectares--indicated and the
given production data are correct, then its yield was an infinitesimal
190 kilograms per hectare. The official production data are, in
approximate terms, confirmed by other sources.[1] However, the area
indicated by the official data is much higher than either the data
249 of Marques or field experience would indicate. Estimates from the
433 mean of surrounding *municípios*, from the mean yield calculated from
127 Marques, and from the area given by Marques adjusted to the 1948 level of
128 production, give the following figures, respectively: 675 hectares,
692 hectares, and 700 hectares. The median of these figures—692 hectares--was selected and used in preparing Maps 28, 29, and 33 in
Chapter V.

---

[113] [1] Antonio Nonanto Marques, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-85; and Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, *Contribuição do Instituto Bahiano do Fumo*, pp. 1-16.

APPENDIX G

Procedure Used in Estimating Value of Animals Produced in the Recôncavo in 1948

231
233
433
127
128

The 1948 data on livestock[1] gave the total number of animals for each *município* but did not show the number slaughtered nor the value of animal production. An estimate of the latter figure was made for 1948 in order to compare the value of crop and livestock production for that year. The method of estimation was as follows.

It was assumed that the change in the cattle population between these years was the best available index of the change in the value of animal production, since cattle are the most common and most valuable major animal. The index of change thus derived was used to raise or lower the 1940 value of animal production of each *município*, as given in the *Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II*, to a 1948 level, but still in terms of 1940 currency. This latter figure was increased by 350 per cent to conform to the declining value of the *cruzeiro*. For example:

Alagoinhas: $\frac{\text{1948 cattle}}{\text{1940 cattle}} = \frac{26{,}060}{13{,}090} = 2$ (approx.)

1940 value of production = Cr.$825,000

Cr.$ 825,000 x 2 = Cr.$1,650,000

Cr.$1,650,000 x 3.5= Cr.$5,775.000.

---

[1] Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Estatística da Produção, "População Pecuária, Em 31/12/1948."

438 Centro, situated on the banks of a navigable river which
175 empties into the Bay in front of the town of Vila Recôncavo,
was in a good position to serve the entire back region of the
361 Recôncavo. As a county it now comprises 1,180 square kilo-
[634] meters. As a port, Centro served two purposes in the early
eighteenth century. A great deal of produce and many persons
[131] passed through it, including the families of sugar-cane grow-
ers from other regions of the Recôncavo; and it also served
[504] as a "gateway to the West" at a time when western Bahia and
Minas Gerais were being opened and the gold and diamond
rushes were in progress. Centro was the end of navigable
[487] waters and the beginning of one of the overland routes lead-
ing to the uplands of the sertão and the mining areas of the
[634] west. As Centro grew, Vila Recôncavo stagnated. In 1833
Centro was made judicial center (cabeça de comarca) of the
district and Vila Recôncavo became part of this judicial dis-
trict, thereby losing its prominence as the center of juris-
diction for the interior zone of the Recôncavo. Commercially,
Vila Recôncavo was soon overshadowed by Centro. In 1802,
Vilhena wrote:

> . . . In Centro there is a great deal of commerce, because of the amount of sugar, tobacco, and the number of distilleries and of Mineiros [miners and people from the state of Minas Gerais] who arrive there. Continuing along the bank of the river one finds Vila Recôncavo, which in spite of enough sugar passing through it, always had a weak commerce, and the town is known among all the others as the town of the least traffic.[8]

He says later:

> 175 In spite of its antiquity, Vila Recôncavo has few in-
> 361 habitants, and most of them poor, although through-
> 438 out the termo there are many good families of noble
> people, rich through the products of their large engen-
> 433 hos, from which they take much and excellent sugar,
> the only commerce of that town; in it also there is fish-
> ing for a little sardinelike fish called xangó and a large
> quantity of good and large shrimp, which is the main

---

[8] Ibid., Letter I, p. 32 (author's translation).

175
361
occupation of the poor people, who sell them after drying [438]
in the city of Salvador. . . .[9] [433]

In 1837 Centro officially became a city, and for another hundred [443]
years it was the major commercial point of the sugar-Recôncavo. [443]
Gradually, however, it fell into the same pattern of [178]
decline which continues today in so much of the Recôncavo. [178]
In the 1900's a railroad was constructed from Salvador to 175
Feira de Santana; it passed well back of Vila Recôncavo, missing
it so far as to be of no aid whatsoever. Although it passed 361
through Centro, the terminal point, Feira, became more important 496
commercially to the state and became the new gateway
to the north, west, and south of the state and of the nation.
Although Centro is now a large town with a population of some 175
ten thousand people and a weekly market which attracts people 361
from the countryside and the neighboring towns, this is not
enough to sustain it. Its port is now comparatively little used [162]
for the export of sugar, which in most cases goes directly to [443]
Salvador by train from the factories.

The immediate cause for the decay of the town of Vila Recôncavo, [497]
and to a great extent that of Centro and of so many 175
other older towns, was the loss of functions after the period
of frontier growth. Those towns which had been religious centers 178
lost this function. Military posts were no longer needed, 361
and administrative activities became more restricted as the
counties were cut down in size and as the state and federal
governments took over more functions, such as schools and
health programs. Railroads and trucks have lately reduced 175
the importance of the port towns. The rural towns no longer
interest the wealthy rural aristocracy who always dominated 178
and supported them. More rapid transportation has made it 361
possible for this class to move about from plantation or factory 489
to the town or the city and back in one day instead of
three, thus removing the need for a town house in which to
spend the night. Better transportation has also made it possible
for the other classes to go to Salvador easily for shopping,
medical purposes, festivals, and visiting. Thus Salvador,
because of its nearness and the relative ease of transportation,
has taken on many of the functions of the rural

---

[9] Ibid., Letter XIII, p. 501 (author's translation).

175 249* 426 458

slaves and equipment. Thus began a long series of mortgages which continued for several centuries. The commercial agents in the city, for the most part representatives of Portuguese companies, loaned money to the plantation owners, using the next crop as collateral. They also charged high interest rates. When the next crop did not materialize, nor the next, the plantation owners found themselves inextricably in debt. At the same time the sugar market in Portugal was lost because the sugar was arriving there in a spoiled condition due to poor transportation, a cargo at times taking two years to arrive at its destination. Furthermore, the prices of most necessities were rising, and, in addition, Portugal began to tax the colonists heavily.

175 249* 458 [426]

In the early 1700's there was a more prosperous phase, due to higher prices for sugar in Europe. Many plantations were reconstructed, enlarged, and modified, and new ones were built. As a result many people went into debt again. During the eighteenth century two major factors turned against the prosperity of the sugar-cane growers: competition in the European market with the French, Spanish, and British, who were now producing sugar on their Caribbean islands; and the discovery of gold in the western part of Brazil. Sugar could be shipped to Europe more rapidly from the Caribbean than from Brazil. It was subject to less spoilage, and there was also probably less governmental interference. As soon as the European market was flooded with sugar, the price fell.

175 249* 433● 458

The discovery of gold in Minas Gerais further dislocated the sugar industry of the Recôncavo at the time when it could least afford it. The prices of slaves, metals, cloth, cattle, horses, and all the necessities of life increased. Many of the freemen who worked in the plantations in administrative capacities were enticed away to the mines by the promise of great wealth. The need for slaves at the mines was great, and traders who sold slaves preferred to sell them to the miners, who could pay cash, rather than to the plantation owners, who frequently paid in sugar. During this time there was also a serious shortage of foodstuffs, for many of the smaller farmers who normally raised food crops emigrated to Minas Gerais.

175 249* 458 648 651

The agriculturalists--those who planted tobacco as well as those who planted sugar--were still being pressed by high taxes. There are many letters and documents from the governing bodies of the colony, addressed to the Portuguese king, telling him of the deplorable situation in which sugar planters

175
*249
458
648
651

found themselves, with no food, their slaves dying, the price of sugar falling, the markets lost, and, especially, overburdening taxes. Most of the documents which remain are pessimistic ones, for during the times of prosperity little was written. At any rate, late in the eighteenth century some measures were taken to lighten the burden of taxation and to provide better means of transportation to Europe than the irregular system of fleets which were frequently spaced two and three years apart. As a result, many plantation owners took heart and applied themselves again to the raising of sugar cane. They were further aided by an increasing market in Europe, which finally became almost entirely theirs at the turn of the century, as a result of the European wars.

175
*249
458
669
[731]

By the end of the Napoleonic wars sugar production was at its best, and Bahia was once again experiencing a pleasurable prosperity. However, 1822 brought the War of Independence, much of it fought in the Recôncavo. The war was supported to a great extent by the plantation masters, both financially and physically. Although they gained a great deal of prestige, they lost two harvests, and their exports fell off greatly. It took them some time to recuperate, and in 1855 they suffered another violent blow, an epidemic of cholera.

175
*249
458
731

An indication of the difficulties caused by the epidemic is given in the following passage, translated from a document in the inventory of the Baron of Caju made upon the death of his wife, a victim of cholera:

> The family was in a good state of animation and prosperity in 1855, when the fatal epidemic of cholera morbus wasted this Province, invading the home of the Inventoried and causing him horrible damages and enormous losses! The Baroness fell victim to this voracious scourge! Eighty-two of the most valuable and useful slaves had the same fate; the best expediencies, treatment, and vigilant care were of no effect! Almost the entire harvest of this fatal year was lost in the complete absence of field hands, for the number not stricken was small, and the others, convalescents, were truly specters! The harvests of 1856 and 1857 also suffered.

• 433
*175
249
[458]
[731]

Soon afterwards a new phase began when the Civil War started in the United States, sending up the price of sugar and increasing the market. Some years after this a disease

433
175
249*
[731]
[464]

struck the sugar cane itself, and production again dropped greatly. At the same time, coffee began to attract attention in São Paulo and the few slaves for sale were sent there, where they commanded a higher price, thereby causing a shortage of workmen in the Recôncavo. In 1888 a final blow was the abolition of slavery. Production dropped to a new low, and the twentieth century was entered during what was called the gravest crisis the industry had ever experienced.

[177] During the late nineteenth century there were several attempts to better the machinery used in the fabrication of sugar. New methods were introduced from abroad, and at the turn of the century the usina made its first appearance on the scene. The usina represents the large-scale central factory, designed to mill the cane of many plantations, thereby raising the total sugar production.[2] The state government took a hand [654] and financed the construction of three factories which were given to various individuals as concessions. There was an effort to revive the industry on a different and stronger basis. At the same time, however, the Recôncavo, as well as other parts of Brazil, felt the pull of the rubber boom in the Amazon and lost some of its manpower. But once again a European war came to the rescue, and during the second and third decades of this century the sugar industry prospered. Many factories were erected, and there was a definite feeling of optimism, which ended abruptly in 1929 and 1930 as a result of prolonged overproduction. In 1933 the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol was established by the national government to regulate production. The new regulations caused dissatisfaction and disputes, and production fell off sharply, only to rise again after World War II when many of the restrictions imposed by the institute were lifted. At the present time the Recôncavo seems to be experiencing a mild phase of affluence.

175
249*
178

It is the introduction of the large-scale central factory which holds the most interest for us in this recital of crises, for it was this innovation which brought the maximum amount of change to the town and the entire community structure.

The factory was conceived of as a large mechanized mill,

---

[2] Hereafter, the word "factory" will be used to designate the usina; wherever the word "factory" appears it should be understood to mean sugar-cane milling factory, unless otherwise qualified. (Editor's note.) [104]

175
178 located in a position where it could grind the cane of many plantations. The two aspects of the sugar industry, the agricultural
*249 and the industrial, were to be separated. The cane was to be planted, cultivated, and harvested by one group of people; these were the former plantation masters, who under the new system became simply suppliers of sugar cane (fornecedores de cana)
[473] to the mill. The cane was then milled, processed, and marketed by another group of people, a corporate body which became personified as the usineiro.

175 However, this division did not last long, for the modern up-to-date machinery of the new factories proved capable of
*249 grinding more cane than the planters were supplying. Because
473 of their poor financial conditions and loss of laborers due to the abolition of slavery and the consequent resettlement of
• 433 the former slaves, the planters were not able to expand their sugar-cane production enough to meet the demands of the factories. In other cases the planters resented the new factories and simply refused to cooperate, continuing to operate their outmoded mills in spite of adverse conditions. As a result, the corporations began buying plantations of their own, situated as near their mills as possible, in order to assure themselves of a larger supply of cane, and to lessen their dependence upon the individual planters.

175 There was an epoch when the hunger for land seemed insatiable.
*249 The usineiros not only had funds at their disposal which could be used for the purchase of land, but also had the means
425 of forcing individual planters to sell their land to the corporation. By refusing to mill the cane of the planter, or by taking
473 his cane and then letting it sour, and by various other methods, the usineiros were able to force many planters into bankruptcy, after which the corporation bought the land. Also, many planters who continued to depend upon their own efforts, producing sugar in their old-style mills, gradually went into bankruptcy, since they could not compete with the improved product of the new factories.

175 In effect the factory system in Vila Recôncavo is an enlarged
*249 agricultural-industrial combination, an engenho enlarged many times over. The ownership pattern has changed; whereas the
473 engenho was owned by a family, and therefore subject to transfer on the death of the owner, the usina is a corporation, which continues despite the death of stockholders. As will be shown
[178] later, however, the corporation may even be a family. The plantation master, owner of lands and of slaves and ruler of

VILA RECÔNCAVO

small empires, disappeared. But in his place an even more 175
powerful figure appeared, the usineiro, the land-factory com- 249*
bination director and representative of corporate power. 473

However, not all private plantations succumbed to pressure [178]
from the factories or to economic collapse. There are many
which still continue to plant and cultivate sugar cane and send 175
it to the factory for milling. After [illegible]33 the Institute of Sugar 249*
and Alcohol prescribed the amount of sugar cane each plan-
tation, whether private or corporate, could produce, and in- 433
dicated the total amount of sugar each factory could produce
and how much cane it had to accept from each plantation. As [656]
a result of this protection, many private plantations contin-
ue to function in equilibrium with the factory to which they
send their sugar cane. The private plantation owners also
have a separate association which looks after their interests.

Thus the twentieth century has seen the introduction and de- 175
velopment of the factory system and in its wake a series of 249*
fundamental changes. The growth of factory towns (the usina
nuclei) has created further competition for the older county 178
seats, such as the town of Vila Recôncavo, and further dis-
integration of the former community structure.

Since its discovery and settlement, the rural area of Vila 175
Recôncavo has been the scene of sugar-cane planting and sug- 178
ar making. The rural area was settled before the town of Vi-
la Recôncavo, and the plantation nuclei were actually self- 249*
sufficient small towns in themselves. The landowning pattern
in this rural area has gone full cycle. First were the large 423
land grants which were then split up into separate engenhos
(after 1889 known as fazendas) through division due to in-
heritance, sale, or donation. For about three hundred years
the pattern of the area was that of the engenho. However,
at the end of the nineteenth century, this way of life came
to an end as a result of financial crises and the abolition of
slavery. The twentieth century has seen the introduction of
the factory, which has led to a concentration of lands again
under single ownership, although this time corporate and not
that of a single individual or family.

During the epoch of the plantations there was a necessity 175
for the existence of the town to serve the needs of the landown- 178
ing class. The community during this time was focused to a
large extent toward the county seat. But with the abolition of 249*
slavery, the disappearance of the plantation master and his 621
large family, and the coming of the factory, the former com-

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

*
249
463
466
571
829

Dona Sinhá and other plantation owners feel that a plantation cannot be successful without a good overseer, and they also feel that the white man does not make a good overseer. They say he cannot stand the heat of the summer and the rain and mud of the winter when spending entire days in the saddle overseeing the work. Only the indefatigable mestiço is supposed to be able to take such punishment. The owners also say that only he can deal properly with the mestiço workers--that, being one himself, he knows their "foibles and tricks." To a certain extent the mestiço population seems to agree with this, for orders from the overseer are much more promptly obeyed than orders from the owner, and most of the workmen prefer to have the overseer explain what is wanted. It is also believed that the mestiço is stronger. For example, if Dona Sinhá has made a hard trip in the winter to get to the plantation the workers will sympathize with her, saying, "You came through all that rain and mud, and at night!" when the same trip may be a daily one for the overseer, the cowboy, or any of the workers.

*
249
463
466
571

However, the creation of the position of overseer has also created a series of new problems for the owners. All owners now suspect their overseers of cheating them, and the control of the overseer is a subject which comes up frequently at social gatherings. Since the owner is absent from the plantation about half the year, there are many things which the overseer must do without consulting his employer. The owners will interpret independent action on the overseer's part as good management, mismanagement, or cheating, depending upon the results of the action. When the results are doubtful and there is any suspicion that the overseer might have gained money by his action, it is considered cheating. Very often the owners claim that the overseer and the foreman are "partners" working together against him.

*
249
463
• 433
466
571

On one plantation in the community of Vila Recôncavo, the owner decided he would be his own overseer. He was young and had been born and brought up on the plantation. Within a few years his harvest had dropped to almost nothing, and lately he has changed to raising milk cows, at which he has not been particularly successful either. He himself, and all his friends, blame his lack of success on the lack of an overseer, saying that even though the old overseer had cheated and helped himself to what was not his, the plantation as a whole had not suffered as badly as it did without him.

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

As a result, owners have to be satisfied with higher costs 249*
than they feel necessary and less profit than they think pos- 463
sible, the difference going to the overseer, rather than accept
the complete failure of the plantation Overseers, foremen, 466
and owners are all aware of the situation, but politeness, the 571
traditional respect patterns, and the unwillingness to compete
openly keep the situation covert.

Nevertheless, on Fazenda das Moças, in spite of these dif- 249*
ficulties there is considerable cooperation between Dona Sin- 463
há and Seu Paulo. The duties of the overseer are confined gen-
erally to the plantation itself--seeing that the work is done, 426
the cane planted, cultivated, harvested, and delivered to the
factory as expediently as possible. The duties of Dona Sinhá
are mainly concerned with finance, with arranging ready funds
to meet the current expenses of the plantation. The practice
of mortgaging crops did not end with the abolition of slavery,
and it is the owner's task to juggle funds, loans, and interest
so she will have enough money to improve and increase the
yield of her plantation. In general the owners of single plan-
tations rarely have enough funds to carry them through the
year. Payrolls are met throughout the year with advances on
the estimated harvest made by the factory, by the banks, or
by the Cooperative of Sugar-Cane Growers and Suppliers. Thus
when the season ends the owner is already in debt, part of
which he must pay off in order to finance the coming year.
There are two problems constantly present in the struggle to [433]
increase the size of the harvest: cost of production, and the
antiquated methods used on the private plantations, where
practically all work is done by hand.

Table 1 shows production, costs, and profits for the harvests 249*
of the years 1947-48, 1948-49, and 1949-50 at Fazenda das 43
Moças. The drop in production and the rise in costs in the
years 1948-49 were attributed to a slackening of the vigilance
of Dona Sinhá and to a poor overseer. It was at the end of this
year that Seu Paulo assumed the position of overseer of the
plantation. The following year showed a great improvement
which has continued, for the 1950-51 harvest produced 6,000
tons, the highest output of any private plantation in the Recôn-
cavo. Future harvests are expected to go well above this. In [426]
addition to changing the overseer, and in the following year
the foreman, Dona Sinhá was able to borrow enough money to [407]
purchase the tractor mentioned earlier. The next year, as a
result of the evident success of the new combination, two four- [493]

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

*249 The entire harvest is done with great sacrifice, my
829 head wearied by accounts: 6,000 tons of cane, over
178 Cr$600.000,00--a lot of money, enough for all the ex-
[434] penses, and still some left over. What a mistake! The
general costs, the extraordinary costs, house repairs,
etc., will take it all. So we start again--new plantings,
larger fields, all for more money. But we lack the cour-
*age to stop planting sugar cane and plant corn or cof-
249 fee, anything else. We were born hearing of senhores
de engenho, of trays and trays of silver service, of Ne-
829 gro slaves, of everything which has disappeared into the
past. But it still burns in our blood, and deep down we
want to have lands, to order and be obeyed. We like the
humble and servile vassalage of the Negro, which makes
us feel important, the dispensers of favors.

I think of this as old Saturno goes along, step by step. There is Paulos Santos coming along the road, with his little burro and two baskets, going to get manioc for the ever-present farinha. "Good morning, Patron!" What affection I feel for each one of them! Pedro Manuel with so many little children; Zé Julião with his sick wife, Conceição with his air of secular servility. But affection resolves nothing! Money and action do! I could knock down those miserable hovels and make good hygienic houses.

Once home I fall into the hammock, reading Proust and forgetting everything.

*249

The Usina: Usina São Pedro

473 The Sociedad Anonima, the corporation which operates this
factory, represents the new pattern in the Recôncavo. There
are now nine factories functioning in the Recôncavo, for the
*trend has been to close the small ones which could not func-
249 tion economically. Five of the nine belong to one corporation,
which holds extensive lands and receives the cane of many
• 433 suppliers. We will describe the smallest of the four independ-
[128] ent factories, which has a rated capacity of seventy-two thou-
sand sacks of sugar as compared with the two hundred thou-
sand of one of the larger mills (a sack equaling 60 kilograms).
[656] The legal capacity of the Usina São Pedro--which it has never
reached--is fifty-two thousand sacks, as determined by the
Institute of Sugar and Alcohol. At the present time, however,

[The Usina]

the factory is undergoing a reformation which will raise its 249*
capacity to over one hundred thousand sacks, and the legal 433
capacity will be readjusted.

Usina São Pedro, although the smallest, is representative 249*
of the others and experiences the same problems and difficulties. 473
It differs from some in that it is a family enterprise.
The stockholders are nearly all members of the Conde family, [653]
and the operations are directed by two members of the
family. The factory itself was one of the three built by the [423]
state government in 1900 on land controlled by the Navy,[5] on
the edge of the Bay, which provides excellent year-round
transportation facilities. The mill was acquired in 1909 by the
Conde family with two plantations, to which the family has
since added four other contiguous plantations. The corporation
has a total area of slightly over four thousand acres, mostly
of rich *massapê* soil. The factory receives cane from the plantation 249*
of Dona Sinhá, who is also a member of the Conde family
by birth and by marriage. It also gets cane from four other [602]
plantations within the community and four outside the community,
which send their cane by the traditional sailboat. In addition, [423]
the factory owns a 2,324-acre plantation in the county [505]
of Purificação which is used for grazing and raising cattle
and for supplying wood for the factory fires. There is direct
water transportation between the factory and the plantation in
Purificação.

The designation *usina* has several meanings which are quite 249*
similar to the meanings of the older term, *engenho*. In its 192
larger context, *usina* means the entire land-factory combination,
including the mill and all the plantations belonging to the
corporation. More specifically, *usina* means the factory building
itself. In another context, *usina* simply indicates the population
nucleus, including the factory, the owner's house, and
the other buildings.

The *usina* or factory nucleus roughly follows the same settlement 249*
pattern of the old plantations. The point of orientation 361
is the factory building, near which stand the chalet and
other homes of the owning family, which are grouped together [178]
in a park of royal palms and mango trees. Usually a small
chapel or oratory is included in one wing of the chalet, where

---

[5] The shoreline bordering salt water is controlled to the depth of 33 meters by the Brazilian Navy. [311]

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Usina]

Financially the two units--factory and plantation--are run
separately. One set of books is kept for the agricultural part, 249*
and one set for the factory. The six plantations combined pro- 451
duced eighteen thousand tons of cane in 1950, although they
had planned on twenty-three thousand. The fall in the expect- 184
ed harvest was due to several things. First, less new cane was 249*
planted, because of the activities of the petroleum workers
who were invading the cane fields of the factory and drilling oil 433●
wells. (The first time a field is cut, the percentage of cane is
higher than that obtained by cuts during the next four or five
years. The same amount of land, therefore, will produce
more cane if it is replanted regularly. The factory, however,
deemed it wiser to be content with the older plantings for one
year because of the oil workers' invasion, for newly planted
cane is more subject to damage than an established field.)
Second, during that year there was a serious drought which af-
fected adversely the growth of sugar cane. There is no irriga-
tion in the Recôncavo, and during the drought seasons which [731]
come periodically a partial crop loss nearly always occurs. In
addition one entire taboleiro caught fire and burned to the
ground, causing the loss of many tons of cane.

The agricultural cycle and the work on a plantation may be 249*
divided into two broad epochs, summer and winter. Summer 221
is the busiest season, for it is harvest time and all hands are
occupied, including the migrant workers. The cutters with [461]
their machetes cut an average of three to four tons a day
apiece, which must be quickly loaded and carried to the fac-
tory and milled, for the longer the lapse of time between the
two operations, the greater the loss of sugar content. After
a field has been cut, one of two things occurs. If it is to be
turned into pasture, it is fenced, and the draft animals are
turned loose in it. Otherwise the leaves which were cut from
the top of the plant and left lying on the ground are burned,
and within a short time the roots start sending up new shoots.
This old planting (soca) each year gives a decreased yield. As
a rule a field is cut and burned three to four years before be-
ing turned into pasture. In the days of the old plantations, when
the soil was more vigorous, cane of twelve years was consid-
ered "new cane." Now, however, the yield is so decreased by [134]
the increasing poverty of the soil that three to four years is
the best, depending upon the amount of rain. During the sum-
mer, if land is prepared and there are prospects of heavy
showers, "summer plantings" may be made. They are never
as good as those done in the winter, for the sun frequently

*249
221 kills the new shoots. Toward the end of summer, the pastures
or garden plots which are to be made into new plantations
(rêgo novo) are prepared, for such work is usually done in
accordance with conditions of the land rather than only at the
●[433] time of planting. New plantings yield an average of thirty to
forty tons per acre. Cutting, transporting, burning, and plant-
ing are done by the resident workers, while the weeding and
general cultivating are carried out by the migrant laborers.

Work in the winter period can usually be handled by the res-
ident workers alone. The planting of cane goes on throughout
the year, but the most favorable time is during July and Au-
gust, when the rains begin to diminish in constancy and the sun
shines longer. Cane planted at this time gives the greatest
yield. The seed used is the top part of the cane itself, the
"eye" which appears just below the leaves. As a rule each
plantation furnishes most of its own seed. That for the sum-
mer planting comes from the cane which is cut to go to the
[654] factory, and that for the winter from small plantings made
previously for the purpose. The state government also main-
tains an agricultural station in the area, from which the plant-
ers can get seed. During the winter all repairs are made on
houses, fences, and equipment, and of course the necessary
drainage ditches must be built or repaired and seasonal cul-
tivation and clearing work must be done.

*249 The usineiros maintain that the agricultural operations pay
more than does the factory. The factory plantations sell their
435 cane at the same price as the private suppliers, a price fixed
by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol. This price has gradual-
ly gone up as have all the factory costs. But the ceiling price
of sugar, which is Cr$166,00 a sack, has not increased.
In 1951 the cost per sack of sugar at Usina São Pedro was
[434] Cr$132,00. Each year the costs rise, creeping nearer and
nearer to the selling price. So while the books show that each
plantation is making more money for its cane, the factory's
books show a slackening of profits. At the moment, most of
the factories in the Recôncavo are engaged in refining their
processes in order to get a higher percentage of sugar out of
[433] each ton of cane. The Usina São Pedro is only able to get an
average of eighty kilograms of sugar per ton of cane, while
the largest factory gets one hundred kilograms per ton. The
factory also loses money because it pays for the cane by the
ton of dead weight, and not by the percentage of sucrose the
cane contains. As a result the planters are interested in rais-

VILA RECÔNCAVO

5. Town Life

THE OCCUPATIONS of the townspeople in Vila Recôncavo 369
differ considerably from the pursuits of the people in the ru- 463
ral zone. The town residents are engaged in gaining a living
from a number of small enterprises; the economy is a money 632
economy, and not one dominated by mutual obligations and [434]
rights, as it is to a certain degree on the plantations. Vila
Recôncavo is the county seat and lacks any organized com- [433]•
merce or industry. It can be called an administrative town,
inasmuch as government employment is the life of many of [647]
the people, especially the town's upper class.

The economic occupations of the townspeople can be divided 463
into four groups: (1) the bureaucrats and merchants; (2) the group which serves them, such as cooks and laundresses; (3) a middle group of artisans whose greatest asset, as well as liability, is their independence; (4) a small group of people who do not fit into any of the three groups above.

According to the census which was taken in June, 1950, the [162]
labor force of the town numbered 459 persons, including men and women. Of the 459, eleven listed themselves as unemployed. The remainder of the population were listed as housewives, students, small children, and old people who were retired or incapacitated. In this category, which numbers about one thousand people, there are individuals who engage in part-time work, such as carrying water or firewood or doing piecework sewing--in other words, small occupations which in their eyes are not worthy of being classed as employment.

The occupations which were listed can be broken down into the four groups mentioned above as follows:

175
herents of these cults, female slaves and former slaves for 794
the most part, followed a lengthy routine to become practitioners in the various cult houses and spent large sums of money, according to legend, on the required bracelets, necklaces, and clothing.

Today, however, the cult priests and priestesses have the 794
same complaint as the Catholic priests. They say that young 793
people no longer have the understanding or the patience necessary to prepare for devotion in the cult houses. The older [177]
priestesses deplore the degeneration of some of these houses
and the admission of Indian spirits, which are now displacing [776]
the African gods.

Spiritualism has recently entered the community. So far it has been limited to few people in the community, although it is very popular in Salvador.

The use of the supernatural as described in Willems' Cunha[1] 771
does not take place in Vila Recôncavo. In Cunha the saints 776
are asked to send rain whenever it appears that the crops are
in danger. But in Vila Recôncavo, which lies in a semitrop- [171]
ical rain area, there is no need for such invocations. Besides, [782]
these are large-scale economic crops, not subsistence produce on which the people depend directly for their living. [433]

The Catholic Church in Vila Recôncavo

During the colonial period each religious parish was care- 795
fully delineated and conserved, but later political divisions 794
cut across parish lines. This has made the use of colonial 632
statistics very difficult. During colonial and empire times the 175
church was the main census organ, but since parishes and
counties do not coincide in their outlines the statistics are lit-
tle help today in comparing the present with the past. Each [114]
parish built a mother church (matriz) in the parish town. Each
of these churches had a patron saint, who was also the patron [776]
of the parish, and a resident priest or priests.

In the town of Vila Recôncavo, the county seat, a mother 175
church was built, with São Gonçalo as its patron saint; also 79
constructed was the Franciscan convent, connected with an
opulent Third Order. As the Recôncavo entered its long per- [776]

---

[1] Emilio Willems, Cunha: Tradição e transição en uma cultura rural do Brasil (Sao Paulo, 1947), Chapter 7.

178
249*
change. New faces and basically different relationships pre- [466]
vail at Usina São Pedro.

Another change, but this time in tune with the past, was an 178
increase of capital, applied to the improvement of the factory.
The capacity of the mill has been greatly enlarged. However, 249*
the agricultural part of the combination continues as it did be- 433
fore, with no innovations. The result is that the factory is
able to mill and produce sugar much more quickly than it can [471]
be supplied with sugar cane. The hierarchical aspect of the
factory as earlier diagrammed remains the same, and each [466]
plantation is still run as a separate unit.

In contrast, the private plantation in the community of Vila 178
Recôncavo has undergone relatively little change in these five 249*
years. Always the most conservative element in the Recôncavo,
the private plantation continues to retain its distinguishing fea- [466]
ture: the personal, face-to-face, paternalistic owner-worker
relations. The hierarchical pattern remains the same. Opera- 178
tions are still basically hand- and animal-powered, but pri-
vate planters are slowly introducing mechanization in certain 249*
aspects of the process, especially that of transportation; 461
trucks and tractor-drawn wagons carry cane from the fields [492]
to the factory. Tractors and mechanical plows are used to an
increasingly large extent in the preparation of the soil, and [493]
mechanical cultivators are already in use on some planta- [407]
tions. However, the bulk of the work is still done by hand,
and traction is supplied by oxen and mules. As yet no me- [492]
chanical loaders, ditch-diggers, or planters have appeared, [407]
and little use is made of fertilization or herbicides. Few sci- [242]
entific agricultural practices are in use. The planter is still
first and foremost a "practical" man.

Relations between the factory and the private plantations 178
have also undergone considerable change, in both business 249*
and social aspects. The new managers of the factory have
succeeded in almost completely alienating the private planters 571
who supply them with sugar cane. Not only the members of
the extended Conde family, but also other cane suppliers re-
sented the highhanded, brusque methods of the new managers.
Wishing to break completely with the past, the new managers
instituted several new policies in relations with the cane sup- [443]
pliers. Formerly the private suppliers bought sugar by the
sack, bought their supplies at the company store, and had [452]
their machines repaired at the company workshops, paying
for such services at the end of the harvest season. The sup- [407]

178
245
position of the sugar industry in Vila Recôncavo, is creating 439
considerable interest on the part of the community's planters. 249*
Just as sugar cane is limited by soil and climatic conditions,
so also is the cacao. There is little fear, therefore, of competition [438]
from many other areas. In addition, cacao is exportable,
while the sugar of the area is for internal consumption
only.

In spite of the attraction of this new crop, there are a number 178
of problems which must be dealt with. First, the details 249*
of a change from sugar cane to cacao must be worked out,
especially as regards space and financing. The planter must 245
juggle his sugar plantings, pastures, and rotation lands so 452
that he can slowly take out land for preparation for cacao. If
he wants to finance the changeover himself, he cannot lessen 433 ●
his sugar production; in fact, he needs more money than before. [311]
Banks in general lend on the forthcoming crop; if the
crop is reduced, so is the amount which can be borrowed.
However, to overcome this, the Institute of Cacao of Bahia
is preparing a financing program on a long-term basis. Sugar
cane is a perennial, planted one year, bearing for the next
three or four years, then ploughed under and replanted. Cacao,
on the other hand, is a permanent tree crop which gives
its first fruit in five years, reaches maturity in fifteen or
twenty years, and then continues to produce annually for sixty
to one hundred years. Thus sugar cane is financed on a one-year
basis, while initial plantings of cacao must be financed
on a long-term basis of ten to fifteen years. The change from
a perennial crop to a permanent crop also requires a totally
different mental set on the part of the planter.

Cacao is a "forest crop," which means that it requires shading. 178
Under primitive conditions it is planted in dense tropical 245
forest. In Vila Recôncavo, however, the former tropical forest
has been entirely cleared away during the last four hundred 242
years, since sugar cane tolerates no shade. Therefore, before
the cacao can be planted, shade must be provided. This is
done by planting banana trees and, at fixed intervals, single
seedlings of a precocious, long-living, high-growing shade
tree. To pay for the work involved it is common to plant manioc [434]
between the banana trees. The manioc is gathered the following
year, and shortly thereafter the young cacao trees can
be planted. The banana trees offer sufficient shade for the [434]
young plants. For a period of five or six years the planter

178 245 242 [434]

can collect bananas, which should pay for the operating costs while waiting for the cacao to mature.

At the end of a five- or six-year period, the shade tree is usually large enough to provide sufficient shade, and the banana trees are gradually removed. At the same time the cacao begins to give its fruit, and one can then consider himself a cacauicultor.

178 245 461 464 [407]

Several planters in Vila Recôncavo are at the banana-manioc planting stage, and have met with their first serious labor problem. No one wants to work in banana and manioc fields, as the work is arduous and slow. Machines are not available for the mechanical cultivation of manioc, so the work must be done by hand. The work is slowly being accomplished, but at costs which will make the manioc a considerable liability.

178 245 ● 433 *[247] [571]

Nevertheless, in spite of these difficulties, there is considerable interest in cacao in Vila Recôncavo, and cacao must be considered as an element of change in the community which will have far-reaching effects. The area of sugar production will be considerably reduced, requiring adjustments on the part of the factories, which represent large financial investments. Furthermore, cacao is a fairly simple product to process--its conversion into chocolate is usually done after export--and so it is quite likely that each plantation will return to the older aspect of the plantation, both growing and processing the crop, and become once again a highly self-sufficient unit. This would of course bring about a new alignment of socio-economic relations and would undoubtedly alter the community structure.

178 315 433 [425]

A third principal cause of change in Vila Recôncavo is the growth of a new and potent industry within the community and throughout the county. This new industry is the nascent Brazilian petroleum industry. Exploratory work was done in Vila Recôncavo in 1950 and 1951 under the guidance of the Conselho Nacional de Petroleo. Since that date a nationalised company, Petrobrás, has been formed to exploit the oil fields which lie under the topsoil of the county of Vila Recôncavo. Petrobrás has brought in several hundred oil wells and has built roads, pipelines, storage tanks, and machine shops. Just outside the limits of the community, but within the county, it has built its oil refinery and has created a small new, modern city to house the technical workers of the refinery and the field. On land expropriated from the Usina São Pedro it has also con-

VILA RECÔNCAVO

178
315
433

structed a series of barracks, a recreation hall, a restaurant, and a service center for the unmarried field workers. [425]

In spite of this, the changes in the community structure brought about by the petroleum industry have been as yet relatively few. The industry exists in the community as an intruder, not affecting communal life to any great extent, and not contributing any substantial local benefits. [464] This is perhaps in part due to the fact that it is a nationalized company, with headquarters located in the city of Salvador, rather than a product of local efforts. The petroleum workers for the most part have not been drawn from the local labor force but have come from outside the county. It is almost as if a military base had been established in Vila Recôncavo on a temporary basis.

The effect on the town has been principally to increase the number of houses. [362] The married workers of Petrobrás for the most part live in the town. [571] Naturally there has occurred a broadening of point of view among the town dwellers as a result of social intercourse, as well as a certain new prosperity due to greater numbers. [493] Nevertheless, there are still no private cars, buses, or public transportation in the county. [494] The petroleum workers and their families go to Salvador whenever possible for shopping and amusements, rather than attempting to satisfy these needs in Vila Recôncavo, where public services, diversions, and so forth have continued to be almost nonexistent. [484]

178
315
433
226

To counterbalance the effect of prosperity brought to the town by increased population, the petroleum industry has had an adverse effect on the fishing activities of the townspeople. Many wells have been drilled in the shallow waters of the Bay of All Saints in front of the town. As a result of underwater explosions, the constant passage of rapid motor launches, and digging and dredging machines, the traditional fishing area of the town's fishermen has been rapidly depleted and its ecological balance destroyed. The fishermen are gradually turning away from fishing as an occupation and seeking other remunerative activity, either outside the community or in the petroleum industry and, to a slight extent, in the sugar industry. Others are turning to service occupations, such as bricklaying, as stopgap activities.

178
315
433
47

Petrobrás to date has affected rural life very little. The planters of the area have profited to some extent because of the roads constructed by the company. It is now possible to

178 315 433 49

travel from the city to the plantations by car at almost any season of the year. It is a two-hour trip, considerably more comfortable than the old system of travel by boat and on horseback. In addition, the roads have made it possible for the planters to transport their cane more efficiently, using trucks and tractor-drawn wagons. Along with this, the refinery has led to greater supplies of diesel oil, gasoline, and kerosene, so that it is no longer necessary to transport these items from the city at great cost and delay.

178 315 311 433 427 [421]

The planters have also profited in another manner. Petrobrás invaded the cane fields in its search of oil. It fenced small areas where it drilled and constructed storage tanks, and it took out of cane production a good deal of land for roads and installations. Recently a basis has been reached for paying the planters in a satisfactory manner for the use of the lands. As a result each planter whose land is partially occupied now receives an annual cash payment based on what the occupied land could produce. As yet no arrangements have been made for the landowners to participate in the profits of Petrobrás, since all subsoil riches belong to the nation, and therefore in this case to Petrobrás.

178 315 571

There has been little social intercourse between the planters and the personnel of Petrobrás, either in the rural area or in the city of Salvador. From time to time the higher echelon employees of Petrobras are invited to larger parties given by the planters, and in return the planters are sometimes invited to parties at the refinery. But the plantation society is so closed and so firmly based on family relationships that it is difficult to maintain steady social relations with newcomers. In addition, the engineers and other specialists of the oil industry are principally oriented toward the capital city, and there is no serious attempt made to establish social relationships with the planters.

The sugar-cane workers for their part are so definitely plantation-oriented that they seek little diversion among the new oil workers. The unmarried field workers of Petrobrás who might be expected to establish relationships with the rural population seldom do so. They live in a fenced barracks area which immediately gives the impression of a group cut off from the rest of society. When they do seek entertainment they go as a rule to the factory nucleus, or to the town of Vila Recôncavo, or to the nearby town of Milagres.

Politically, this influx of new workers has had little in-

249
471
567 those under 12 years of age.[1] Of the 121 slaves listed in the particular
inventory mentioned above, 40 were African. Most of these came
from West Africa. Of those whose African origin is indicated, *Nago*
(Yoruba) is most often listed, and *Gege* (Ewe) is second.

249 On these sugar plantations of the Recôncavo in the colonial period,
the overseer of all operations involved in the growth of sugar cane
565 and production of sugar was the owner himself. Generally, only the
463 oldest son was trained to take over his duties on the plantation; the
younger sons were sent to Salvador, to Recife, or even to Europe
to be educated as lawyers, physicians, engineers or Catholic priests.
Daughters were married early and given their dowry, or they were
[582] sent to convents to become nuns or live as lay sisters. Marriages
with first cousins were frequent. Every effort was made to keep the
plantation undivided and in the family. The Recôncavo sugar plantation, until about the middle of the nineteenth century, was a
remarkably stable community changing little in size and organization from generation to generation.

249 After the abolition of slavery, there was a partial exodus of ex-
567 slaves from the plantations to nearby towns and to the capital of
Bahia. The ex-slaves who moved to small towns became manual
463 labourers or fishermen, or engaged in the profession they had learned
on the plantations, such as barbering, bricklaying, etc. In other
464 cases, ex-slaves rented small plots of land on neighbouring plantations
to raise manioc, corn, tobacco and other crops which required little
[427] outlay of capital. Others became sugar planters on a small scale;
known as *rendeiros*, they rented a few acres from a plantation and
cultivated sugar cane, sending the product to the nearby *engenhos* for
milling. In other cases, the ex-slaves simply moved from one plantation to another, or they often remained as free men on the same
plantation, still engaged in raising sugar cane, living under the same
249 conditions as before, but legally free. Contrary to popular opinion,
433 the *engenhos* of the Recôncavo did not all cease operations after
abolition. Many of them kept on producing as before. In other cases
567 the *engenho* or mill closed down while the plantation continued to
plant sugar cane, sending it to a nearby *engenho* which was still
functioning for milling. Some *engenhos*, however, did close down
altogether and were abandoned, or went into the hands of receivers.
249 At this time many plantations changed owners—wealthy people in
471 the city were able to buy lands at a low cost and did so. But the
failure of many of the *engenhos* in the Recôncavo was not a direct
567 result of abolition, it was rather the continuation of an economic
[425] trend which had been going on for a long time. For many years
previous to abolition, the plantations of the Recôncavo had suffered
[826] from lack of capital, poor administration, occasional crop failure, and

---

[178] [1] In the inventories, *pardo* indicated light skin; *cabra*, dark skin; and *crioulo*, black. These same terms nowadays are used differently in the Recôncavo. See page 28 ff.

249
from the competition of other sugar-producing areas. Abolition was [471]
the factor which, in many cases, simply ended a struggle several [567]
decades old.

The overall production of sugar in the Recôncavo was already [433]
dropping noticeably at the time of abolition, and it continued to
decrease afterwards. At the end of the last century, state-supported [567]
usinas, or large mechanical factories for milling sugar cane, were
opened in an effort to stimulate sugar production. At the same time, [654]
various other *usinas* were opened by private capital. These central [471]
mills received and processed the sugar cane of many plantations.
The *usina* had the advantage of freeing the planter from the worries [433]
of milling and marketing the sugar, allowing him to concentrate on
higher production of sugar cane, while the mechanized *usina* was
able to produce more sugar out of the cane, thus increasing production.
This system of sugar production proved relatively lucrative, [471]
and the government *usinas* passed into private hands. The owners of
usinas bought as many neighbouring plantations as possible, and in [473]
this way the *usineiros*, as they were called, became at the same time
the mill owners and sugar-cane planters—employers of factory
workers and of agricultural workers. The plantations which did not
pass into the hands of an *usina* became *fornecedores*, supplying cane
to one or another large sugar mill.

The *usina* system, however, in many respects did little to change 249
the traditional plantation system. The plantations belonging to 178
usineiros continue as separate units; each generally had an administrator,
a man responsible to the *usineiro*, who is in charge of the
plantation. As a rule the administrator, who is an employee of the
usina, lives in the old *sobrado*, the former residence of the *senhor do
engenho*, as the old plantation owners were known. The workers on
the plantations and their families frequently still live in *senzala*-like
houses, usually a long narrow building under one roof divided into
separate apartments of two or three rooms. Despite many changes of
technology, many examples of the old and the new exist side by side
on these Recôncavo plantations. On the same plantation both mechanical [407]
tractor and ox traction may be used to pull plows. There [492]
are workers' houses side by side, one with electricity and a radio, and
another using candles and kerosene lamps. Furthermore, the hierarchy [365]
of workers and specialists in sugar-cane raising persists little
modified from the early nineteenth century. There are the field
hands, the ox-cart drivers, the artisans and other specialists. The [463]
plantation is also approximately the same size as it was in the early
nineteenth century (although several may be the property of one
company nowadays) and it has about the same number of hired
workers as it had slaves before.

But the *usina* system and other outside influences have made for
many fundamental changes in the Recôncavo. In the very large 600

B

BB *

ticularly São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro but also Belo 121
Horizonte, Recife, Porto Alegre, and others, including 166 *
Bahia.[3] For, stimulated by needs which could not be satisfied 563 *
by importation from Europe or the United States under the B
conditions existing during two World Wars—and more par- BB *
ticularly during the last one—and also by growing internal 121
demand, industrialization has been assuming a continually 178
larger role in what has previously been a predominantly agri- 433
cultural and pastoral country. Concomitant with this in- [439]
creased industrialization—but not to be confused with it, B
since, for one thing, it began long before—there also has BB *
occurred a rapid and extensive growth of the cities. A high 121 *
rate of natural increase of the population has meanwhile con- 178
tinued in all parts of the country, so that it is now estimated [369]
that approximately two and a half million persons are being [161]
added annually to the Brazilian people. New primary, sec-
ondary, technological and professional schools have been set B
up, in an urgent, but not yet adequate attempt—since it BB
began with a huge deficit—to keep up with expanding educa- [871]
tional needs.

The emergence of new employment opportunities, espe-

BB
[3] Since the matter may have puzzled some readers, it perhaps should 103
be pointed out that, in keeping with the traditional patterns in such cases 128
during colonization and later, the term "Bahia" was long used to indicate, on the one hand, the Capitania, Province or State of Bahia and, on the other, its capital city, even though the latter had another (and less used) name—Salvador. At the time of our research, the capital city of the State of Bahia—where most of our research was carried on—was widely and commonly known also as "Bahia"; and this name is still being employed. Since this name was used in the original study, it will be retained in this Introduction, in order to avoid possible confusion when consulting different parts of this edition. Incidentally, the spelling of "Bahia" is correctly given here and throughout this book, although, for a time during the "spelling reform" in Brazil (but only temporarily), an effort was made in some quarters to write the name differently.

[City of Salvador]

At Bahia in 1807, 1809, 1813, 1816, 1826, 1827, 1828, and 175
1830, slave revolts broke out, terminating in the serious 567
Malê uprising of 1835. There existed here, particularly in
the nineteenth century, a well-established group of Negro [669]
disciples of the prophet Mohammed. Here Nagô was for a [792]
long time a Negro lingua franca (or, to use the correspond-
ing Portuguese expression, a *lingua geral*), and Nagô is still [197]
occasionally to be heard among some of the older blacks.
Here one might have encountered in the years just preceding [183]
abolition in 1888 an interesting paradox: while at home Ba-
hia clung tenaciously to slavery, she was known abroad for
the eloquence of her abolition orators.[3] Here, also, one might [771]
have observed the gradual fusion of Catholic belief and ritu- [177]
al with African mythology and religious practice, evidences
of which may be seen today in *candomblés*, or fetish-cult
centers, like that of Gantois, for example, whose ceremonies
have been carried on in the same sacred place for many
decades.

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries Bahia 175
became one of the world's great sugar centers where a small 249
aristocracy, as is attested today by the pretentious edifices
still standing, achieved great wealth. As early as 1587 there
were forty-seven sugar *engenhos*[4] in and about Bahia, and

---

[3] See Luiz Anselmo da Fonseca, *A escravidão, o clero e o abolicionismo* (Bahia, 1887), *passim*. This book, although obviously written as abolition propaganda, cites names, places, and dates to support its contentions and does not overlook negative cases. [113]

[4] Each *engenho* consisted of a sugar plantation and a mill for processing the cane. Those at Bahia often had a capacity of a thousand tons or more yearly. Each was largely a self-sustaining economic unit, dependent upon the labor of numbers of Negro slaves. H. Morse Stephens says (*Portugal* [New York, 1903], p. 228) that sugar cane was imported into Brazil from the Madeira Islands in 1548. [433] [464] [567] [137]

[City of Salvador]

175
249

these, together with the plantations of Pernambuco, supplied a large part of the sugar for the tables of Europe.

175
439
433
[162]
[34]
[352]
[554]
[567]

By 1670 Bahia was a wealthy capital boasting that her flag was known upon the seven seas. Ships from the Portuguese empire in the East called regularly on their way back to Portugal. By the early eighteenth century Bahia had grown into a city of 70,000, her commerce protected by the cross-fire of fourteen forts. Six- and seven-story buildings were common; the possession of carved ebony furniture had become a symbol of social standing; silks, palanquins, and the finest porcelain were imported from China. In the surrounding cane fields toiled, it is estimated, ten times as many slaves as in Virginia. A century later, Lindley, an English smuggler, after admiring the abundance of gold jewelry worn by the women of Bahia, looked out over the shipping in the harbor and wrote of "a degree of wealth unknown in Europe."

Bahia continued to be the first commercial city of Brazil until about 1830,[1] when she finally yielded front rank to São Paulo, the rising young metropolis to the south. But during the entire colonial period (1549–1822), Bahia possessed the principal Brazilian firms and the largest Brazilian fortunes.

175
633

During the first two centuries of the colonial era, Bahia was the seat of Portuguese control in Brazil, the official residence of high functionaries representing the Portuguese crown. Even after the government was transferred to Rio (1763), Bahia continued to play a prominent role in the politics of the colony and, subsequent to independence

---

[249]

[1] In 1868, although the decline in sugar production was by that time well advanced, Bahia had 511 *engenhos* producing nearly 19,000 tons of sugar a year.

[City of Salvador]

571

795 siderable extent over those of the male portion, the church
[554] exercises a substantial measure of control. Prestige of the
military is high.

596 The large family, with its wide ramifications and its patri-
621 archal organization, also bespeaks a preindustrial era. So-
cial cohesion in the community is maintained by the close
association of members of these large family groups, together with the intimate ties common to friends of long
standing, the degree of whose intimacy is much greater
571 than that ordinarily to be found in the cities of comparable
size in industrial societies. One notes in Bahia a warmth
576 of manner uncommon to the United States. Bahians, like
157 most Brazilians, tend to be very affectionate in the family
and warmhearted toward their friends. Characteristic of
such primary relationships is a high order of courtesy and
571 politeness and an almost limitless consideration for the con-
794 venience and comfort of relatives and friends. Religious affil-
467 iation and guild association weave further strands of solidarity, binding the urban community together as if it were
merely an overgrown village.

578 In this stable society there is a comparative absence of
[477] most forms of conflict. In commerce and finance competi-
tion is comparatively slight and limited in considerable
• [433] measure to foreigners. The economy is almost entirely ex-
tractive and industry is minimal. The few differences which
[466] arise between labor and capital often take the form of a

---

571 ual educated in Rio, to be seen on the beaches. Snug-fitting street dresses
178 or those made of sheer or transparent material, and skirts which do not fall
at least several inches below the knee, are subject to general criticism. At the
795 exit of the principal churches and cathedrals is posted an official proclama-
291 tion of the archbishop of Bahia specifying permissible dress. Failure to observe these regulations automatically bars the offender from the sacraments
of the church.

B
BB
175
567
648

Africans were brought into Brazil, many in United States ships, operated by English capital.[29] In 1846, 50,324 were imported; in 1847, 56,172; and, in the following year, 60,000.[30] This traffic was completely suppressed only by 1852,[30a] Bahia being one of the areas in which it died hardest.[31]

BB
175
567
433

In plant and animal communities different species come

---

the federal senate, demanding its repeal. At one time a *delegado de policia* in Bahia was dismissed from office for having apprehended a shipment of Africans, although such shipment was obviously illegal under the provisions of this law.

[29] Daniel P. Kidder, *Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brazil* (2 vols.; London, 1845), II, 96–97; Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 179 ff.; Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 319. The most notorious slave-trade case involving a vessel from the United States was that of the "Mary E. Smith" of New Orleans. The ship was brought into Bahia by the Brazilian brig "Olinda" on January 29, 1856, with 370 slaves from fifteen to twenty years of age aboard. The "Mary E. Smith," despite efforts to detain her, had left Boston on the preceding August 24 and sailed to the Gold Coast, where she had picked up a cargo of nearly five hundred Africans. When captured, she had been attempting unsuccessfully for weeks to land her cargo on the Bahian coast. One hundred and six slaves died before the vessel was finally taken and those still alive upon arrival in Bahia were so weakened by starvation and disease that only a few survived.

[30] Calmon, *op. cit.*, II, 171. According to figures given by the British Anti-slavery Society, 221,800 Africans entered Brazil between 1840 and 1847 (Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 495).

[30a] Percy A. Martin, *Argentina, Brazil and Chile since Independence* (Washington, 1935), p. 208. The last shipload into Bahia landed October 29, 1851. See Wanderley de A. Pinho, "O ultimo desembarque de escravos na Bahia," *Espelho* (September, 1936), pp. 13–16.

[31] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 236. The *Argos Pernambucano* of January 30, 1850, says: "The way in which free Africans are imported into Bahia and reduced to slavery, with the obvious connivance of the government, is a notorious scandal." In the *Argos Sant'Amarense* appeared the following: "The Governor of the Province himself, at nightfall, on the twenty-first of October, 1849, unloaded in the city of Santo Amaro a large number of newly arrived Africans, which he had brought from the capital [Bahia] in a boat, and transported them to his *engenho*." See also Querino, *op. cit.*, p. 626.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

BRAZIL SLI

BB
•433

567 to live together because they mutually support one another.
175 Similarly, different racial stocks often occupy to mutual advantage
the same habitat because each fits into a different
niche in an interdependent symbiotic order. The fundamental
B tal problem is that of survival. The Portuguese at Bahia to a
considerable extent resolved this problem by the development
BB ment of an economy based upon plantation agriculture and
175 slave labor.

567 A considerable number of Negroes died while being transported
from Africa. Others subsequently perished from the
[164] ravages of cholera, yellow fever, and other epidemics. A
few committed suicide or led religiously motivated uprisings
against their masters. But the major portion were readily
incorporated into the plantation system. Centuries of familiarity
with the slave tradition of their African cultures
and, in many cases, familiarity with the slave status itself
BB probably made their adjustment to a slave system in the
new land less difficult.

175 Most of the Negroes entering and remaining in the vicinity
567 of Bahia were employed in the planting, cultivation,
464 harvesting, processing, and marketing of sugar cane and
tobacco. A limited number were engaged in cattle-raising.
B They also supplied the necessary artisan and domestic labor
BB on the plantations.

175 Within the city of Bahia itself, as in other Brazilian ports,
567 most of the slaves were engaged in domestic service. However,
[357] in addition, a modified form of slavery existed. Many
[463] blacks, known as *negros de ganho*, were employed as porters,
stevedores, ironworkers, masons, carpenters, carriage- and
cabinet-makers, printers, sign and ornamental painters, silversmiths,
lithographers, sculptors in wood and stone, small
shopkeepers, street merchants, etc. They were semi-inde-

[SALVADOR]

/46/

Commerce

441 472 554 The merchants and the fazendeiros enjoy a prestige in Bahia society proportional to the economic importance of their activities, the wealthiest families being made up by them, and their influence being well known in all the social life. It is by means of these two forms of activity that the Bahians acquire a certain social rank and exercise control over other sectors of the social structure (1).

> • 433 463 [162] 1. The economic activities that occupy the largest number of persons in the State of Bahia are agriculture and stock raising (67 o/o of individuals of the male sex); there follow in order of importance: small crafts industry and commerce, according to the census of 1940. In the city of Salvador (Bahia) the liberal professions and private instruction, which the statistics record in the aggregate, came in first place, and commerce and the industries are in second place.

*563 472 The national and racial groups that make up the population
of Bahia participate in different fashion in the commerce and
agriculture. While the Whites and the morenos predominate
[233] among the most important breeders of livestock, one finds among
[245] the owners of cacao plantations a large proportion of colored
persons who began as small planters and have progressively enlarged their fazendas as cacoa gained in importance in the inter-
[249] national markets. The plantations of cane and the sugar mills
that belonged to the families of Portuguese origin, who were very
conscious of their social rank during the colonial period, are
today almost entirely in the hands of large capitalist enterprises
in which Whites and a few métis predominate.

*563 441 As for commercial activities, they are not carried on exclusively by nationally and racially determined groups, but these groups portion them out among themselves up to a certain point --